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# FACSIMILES

OF

# THE CREEDS

FROM EARLY MANUSCRIPTS.

EDITED BY

A. E. BURN, D.D.

WITH PALAEOGRAPHICAL NOTES BY

THE LATE DR. LUDWIG TRAUBE.

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# PREFACE.

THE task which I have attempted in this book of facsimiles has grown more serious during the past eight years. It sprang from a desire to collect some photographs of early MSS. of the *Quicumque uult*. While I was puzzling over *Cod. Petriburg.*, Q. i. 15, it was my good fortune to obtain an introduction to Dr. L. Traube. His interest in the photograph led him to write his most suggestive article *Perrona Scottorum*.[1] Everyone who knew him personally found a fascination in his treatment of the subject of palaeography, which has been too often at the mercy of theorists, who possessed neither his mastery over details nor his sure grasp of principles. He was qualified to be a pioneer in the laying of foundations of what is still a new science. When he consented to write palaeographical notes for this book it entered on a new phase of potential usefulness. Despite increasing weakness he took an interest in it to the end of his life. His heirs and his literary executor, Dr. P. Lehmann, have been most kind in putting at our disposal all his papers which had reference to the subject.

In Dr. Traube's own words, palaeographical notes on a collection of photographs made to serve other than palaeographical ends must be something of a *tour de force*. But many of the MSS. in question are of more than average palaeographical interest, and some of them have not been reproduced in any collection of facsimiles, so it seemed worth while to take the risk of producing a book without much unity from the palaeographical point of view. The venture has been justified, as I believe, by the interest and importance of Dr. Traube's discussions of at least three of the MSS., *Cod. Einsidlensis*, 199, *Cod. Paris. lat.* 13246, and *Cod. Petriburg.*, Q. i. 15.

My own notes on the historical interest of the creed forms published in facsimile (with two exceptions) for the first time[2] are of necessity brief. My theories about the more obscure forms are only put forward as working hypotheses until the evidence is better explained by some other. We must be content to let many problems in the history of the creeds remain unsolved for the present, but we shall make no progress unless some theory is provided by which to test the facts collected, or to point in the direction in which new facts may be searched out.

Each group of MSS. has been selected with reference to some problem. The MSS. of the Apostles' Creed have been chosen to throw light on the history of the *Textus receptus*. In the Creed of Cyprian of Toulon, I shall exhibit a pure Gallican Creed, then an Anglo-Saxon recension of the Old Roman Creed, then different stages of approach to the final form

[1] *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, München, 1900, iv, p. 469.

[2] Mabillon published a woodcut of the first words of the *Quicumque uult* in *Cod. Petriburg.*, Q. I. 15 (*de re diplomatica*, ed. 1789, i, 366). Swainson published a copy of one page of *Cod. Ambros.*, O. 212 *sup.* (*Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, 1875, i, p. 534.)

adopted in the West, ending with the Creed of Priminius which is the first dated occurrence of the completed form.

The history of the Latin text of the Creed of the Council of Nicaea is less important than the history of the later so-called Constantinopolitan Creed, the Latin versions of which open out an almost unworked field of enquiry. The MSS. which I quote, apart from their palaeographical interest, are important links in the chain of evidence which connects the Constantinopolitan Creed with the Church of Jerusalem.

With the third group of MSS. we enter upon the debateable ground of the Athanasian Creed, more accurately described as the *Quicumque uult*. It may be hoped that this collection will give the *coup de grâce* to the theory, which is hard to kill in England, though it has been pronounced dead in Belgium and Germany,[1] that no MS. of the Creed in its present form is of earlier date than the ninth century. Through the kindness of M. L. Delisle, Vice-President of the Society, who was the first to call attention to the MS., I am able to publish the text found in a MS., which was presented by Bishop Leidrat to the Altar of S. Stephen in Lyons with an autograph inscription. Leidrat resigned his see in A.D. 814. As M. Delisle points out, this *terminus ad quem* in the case of one MS. may be of great assistance in enabling us to date others more confidently. In fact we need not hesitate to accept the palaeographical arguments by which the other MSS. are assigned to the eighth, or even (in the case of the Milan MS.) to the seventh century. Incidentally the photograph from St. Petersburg turns out to be that of a MS. lost from St. Germain-des-Près, and Dr. Traube has confirmed the opinion of its first editor, Mabillon, as to its date, besides making it the starting point of his enquiry into the handwriting of the monks of Péronne.

I hope that the new light which these facsimiles throw on obscure passages in the history of the Creeds will be held to justify the expense of their publication and the labour and care which has been expended on them. I am in no way responsible for the prolonged delay in obtaining a photograph from Cologne, which prevented Dr. Traube from finishing his part of the work. But I am most grateful to the Council of the Henry Bradshaw Society for their long patience as well as to Mr. Wilson and Mr. Turner for much help in the progress of the work; to Mr. Turner also for his valuable note on Cod. Colon. 212.

I wish also to thank Mr. J. P. Gilson, of the British Museum, for kindly undertaking the difficult task of the transcription of the photographs and for relieving me of the burden of responsibility.

A. E. BURN.

[1] Art. *Athanasianum* in Hauck's *Encyclopädie*, Loofs; *Le Symbole d'Athanase*, Morin, *Revue Bénédictine*, Oct. 1901.

# HISTORICAL NOTES.

## I. THE APOSTLES' CREED.

### § 1.—Introduction.

The history of the Apostles' Creed has attracted much attention during the past thirty years, and the literature of the subject is increasing rapidly, especially in Germany. But it has seldom been remarked that the work of the veteran pioneer, Professor C. P. Caspari, of the University of Christiania, found stimulus in the work which Professor Heurtley had already begun at Oxford in the publication of his *Harmonia Symbolica*.[1] Dr. Heurtley's book included some important facsimiles of creed-forms, and thus opened the way for the present volume, the plates of which after the lapse of nearly half a century have been printed at the same University Press.

The subject falls into two main divisions, the history of Origins, and the history of the Received Text. The dividing line may be drawn at the year A.D. 400, which is the approximate date of the famous Commentary on the Apostles' Creed in which Rufinus of Aquileia compared the Old Roman Creed to the creed of his native city. The work of Rufinus is the starting point of modern investigation. He wrote at the end of the century in which Christianity became a permitted religion, and Christian Creeds, for the first time, were brought into the light of day, though in many quarters the prejudice against writing them down still existed. With the history of Origins we are not concerned. A general survey of the subject may be found in Harnack's article *Ap. Symbolum* in Hauck's *Real-Encyclopädie* (*ed.* 3), or the present writer's article *Creeds* in the forthcoming edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Our present concern is with the history of the Received Text.

When we pass the year A.D. 400 we feel that a new era has begun in the history of the world. We are face to face with the tide of barbarian invasion, and must soon meet with the problem of missionary work among uncivilised Teutonic tribes, which is the ultimate cause of the survival of our Received Text and of its triumph over other forms. In the fifth century there were many Gallican, Italian, and African creed-forms of the same general type, of which the Old Roman Creed, quoted by Rufinus, is the most important specimen, as it is in all probability the archetype. For the sake of clearness I will quote the Old Roman Creed side by side with the *Textus receptus*, and for the sake of brevity shall hereafter quote them as R and T.

[1] Dr. Swainson, *Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, 1875, p. 5, having acknowledged his own debt, pointed out Dr. Caspari's frequent references to the work of Dr. Heurtley. The well known *Bibliothek der Symbole*, which has been edited by Dr. A. Hahn and Dr. G. L. Hahn, was first published in 1842, but it has always differed from the work of Heurtley and Swainson and Caspari as being a work which does not deal at first hand with new MSS. Within its own limits it is indispensable, and should be used with the monumental work of Dr. Kattenbusch, *Das apostolische Symbol*, 1894.

| Old Roman Creed = R. | *Textus receptus* = T. |
|---|---|
| 1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem. | 1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem *creatorem caeli et terrae.* |
| 2. Et in Christum Iesum Filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum, | 2. Et in <Iesum Christum> Filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum, |
| 3. qui natus est de Spiritu sancto et Maria uirgine, | 3. qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto natus *ex* Maria uirgine, |
| 4. qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus, | 4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus *mortuus* et sepultus *descendit ad inferna*, |
| 5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, | 5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, |
| 6. ascendit in caelos, | 6. ascendit *ad* caelos, |
| 7. sedet ad dexteram Patris | 7. sedet ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis*, |
| 8. unde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos. | 8. *inde* uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos. |
| 9. Et in Spiritum sanctum, | 9. *Credo* in Spiritum sanctum, |
| 10. sanctam ecclesiam, | 10. sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam*, *sanctorum communionem*, |
| 11. remissionem peccatorum, | 11. remissionem peccatorum, |
| 12. carnis resurrectionem. | 12. carnis resurrectionem *et uitam aeternam.* |

The variations found in T are not all of equal importance. Some are more or less accidental, like the substitution of *inde* for *unde* (ὅθεν). But the final solution of the problem of the origin of T can only be found by tracing out the history of each new phrase. At this point it is important to remark that *creatorem caeli et terrae*, *passum*, *mortuum*, *catholicam*, *sanctorum communionem* were found before A.D. 400 in the Creed of Niceta of Remesiana,' and we shall find the remaining additions of T united in fifth century Gallican Creeds. Separately, of course, these additions have an even higher antiquity. Thus *descendit ad inferna* goes back to the fourth century Creed of Aquileia, and *et uitam aeternam* was in the African Creed of Cyprian in the third century.

With these words of preface we may pass on to the consideration of an important Gallican Creed which has recently come to light.

## § 2.—Codex Colon. 212 (Darmstad. 2326).

The letter of Cyprian, Bishop of Toulon, to Maximus, Bishop of Geneva, was first published in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Epp.*, iii, p. 434, by Dr. Gundlach.[1] It is found on fol. 113b of this MS. Cyprian wrote to defend his use of the expression "the God-man suffered." To our advantage he quotes the first two divisions of his creed. We are thus able to confirm the evidence of the creed-form extracted from Ps. Aug. Serm. 244, which has been ascribed to Caesarius of Arles. Cyprian asked that an answer might be sent to him through Caesarius, with whom he was in communication. Although Cyprian does not quote the third division of the creed we can restore it with confidence from the Creed of Caesarius which at this point is confirmed by the evidence of Faustus of Riez. Such a restoration of the South Gallican Creed includes two points, which are of some importance. (i) The threefold

[1] Attention was called to an interesting quotation of the Te Deum by Dom G. Morin (*Rev. Bén.*, 1894, p. 49), and to the creed-form of Cyprian by the present writer (*Guardian*, March 13th, 1895).

repetition of *Credo* was common Gallican usage. This adds to the artistic character of the form, and Faustus seems to have the balanced rhythm in mind when he writes of *Symboli salutare carmen.* (ii) The omission of the words *maker of heaven and earth* is very marked throughout early Gallican Creeds. If T was formed after a Gallican model it seems strange that it possesses neither of these characteristics. The omission of *ad inferna descendit* by Cyprian is of less importance. It occurs in a fifth century sermon which may be connected with Lerins.[1]

| Cyprian of Toulon. | Caesarius. |
|---|---|
| I. 1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem. | 1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem. |
| II. 2. Credo et in Iesum Christum filium eius unigenitum Dominum nostrum, | 2. Credo et in Iesum Christum filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum |
| 3. qui conceptus de Spiritu sancto natus ex Maria uirgine | 3. conceptum de Spiritu sancto natum ex Maria uirgine |
| 4. passus sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus * et sepultus * * * | 4. passum sub Pontio Pilato crucifixum mortuum et sepultum, ad inferna descendit |
| 5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis | 5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis |
| 6. ascendit in caelos | 6. ascendit in caelis |
| 7. sedet ad dexteram Patris | 7. sedet in dexteram Patris |
| 8. inde uenturus iudicaturus uiuos ac mortuos. | 8. inde uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos. |
| Faustus of Riez. | |
| III. 9. Credo et in Spiritum sanctum | 9. Credo in Spiritum sanctum |
| 10. sanctam ecclesiam sanctorum communionem | 10. sanctam ecclesiam catholicam communionem sanctorum |
| 11. abremissa peccatorum | 11. remissionem peccatorum |
| 12. carnis resurrectionem uitam aeternam. | 12. resurrectionem carnis et uitam aeternam. |

## § 3.—Codex Bernensis, N. 645.

The contents of the MS. are of a geographical or chronological character. The creed-form to which our attention is called is preceded by the Easter cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine, and a catalogue of Church provinces made in Gaul. It is followed by the forged Acts of a supposed Synod of Caesarea, which were probably written in Britain during the controversies concerning the keeping of Easter in the seventh century. The provenance of the MS. is probably Gaul. Mr. Turner called my attention to a note, fol. 41 $\frac{b}{1}$, which he found when he inspected the MS. in 1900[2], $\frac{I}{AN}$ XV REGN CAROLI $\overline{RG}$ = A.D. 782. But the documents collected in it, which point to Britain as the country of their origin, leave us equally free to regard Britain as the possible home of the creed-form. This hypothesis is confirmed by the interesting resemblances which appear in it to the creed-form in *Cod. Laudianus.* In Art. 9 both forms show the ablative $\overline{spu}$ $\overline{sco}$, in Art. 10 sancta ecclesia, in Art. 12 the genitive (carnis)

[1] *Auscultate expositionem*, published by the present writer in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, July, 1898.
Letter of 21st August, 1900.

resurrectionis.[1] The *Cod. Laudianus* was brought to Britain before the beginning of the eighth century, and its creed-form represents the normal type of Old Roman Creed, used by Augustine and other Roman missionaries. The form before us in *Cod. Bernensis* may very well represent this same type slightly modified, under the influence of Celtic Creeds, by the addition of *passus, descendit ad inferos, catholica, in uitam aeternam.*

Kattenbusch[2] has called attention to the fact that the same creed-form, without *in uitam aeternam,* is found in an ancient sermon in *Cod. Monac. lat.* 14508 of the tenth century from St. Emmeran in Regensburg, which I published in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* xix, p. 186. He connects it with the Celtic missions in Bavaria, and there is nothing improbable in the view that a Celtic monk may have carried it with him to the Continent. But we cannot speak very definitely about the provenance of the sermon because I can now quote other MSS. of it which deserve examination, the earliest being *Cod. Barberini,* xiv, 44, *saec.* ix.[3] While we suspend judgment as to the history of the sermon in which the creed-form was so widely distributed, there is no need to modify our judgment regarding the origin of the creed-form itself. It is out of touch with the line of development followed either in Gaul or Italy. But we can easily explain both its origin in Britain and its transit through Germany to Bavaria or Switzerland.

Dr. Bratke's theory[4] that it represents the ancient form of the Gallican Creed as it existed before A.D. 400 is not borne out by the evidence.

## § 4.—The Gallican Sacramentary.

The so-called Gallican Sacramentary in *Cod. Paris. lat.,* 13246, *saec.* vii, is really a missal, and is but a mediocre witness of Gallican usage in spite of its antiquity. It is often called the Missal of Bobbio, but opinions are divided as to the origin of the liturgical collection contained in it.

Dom Cagin (*Paléographie musicale,* v. 96–184, 1896) maintained that it contained a Roman Missal of the fifth century brought by Columban to Bobbio, which had probably been sent to the Britons at the time when enquiries were made about the Liturgy; secondly, Columban's additions, *e.g.,* a Mass in honour of S. Michael to be connected with the grotto on the right bank of the Bobbio. But Dr. Traube suggests that Dom Cagin's assumption has been disproved by Duchesne, Lejay, and Morin. Dom A. Wilmart speaks of the MS. as a Gallican witness with traces of Irish influence.[5] For my present purpose it is immaterial whether the mixture of Hispano-Gallic, Roman, and perhaps other elements and rites, which it contains, were combined in Bobbio or in the mother house of Luxeuil, in the diocese of Besançon.

In either case we are brought into touch with the life work of S. Columban, the great leader of the Celtic missionaries who at this period travelled across Europe until they came

[1] This was originally a grammatical error, but tended to become a distinct reading *carnis resurrectionis vitam aeternam,* Book of Deer, Cod. Sangallensis, 188, *Sacr. Gallic,* Form C.

[2] *op. cit.,* ii. 748 ff.

[3] Cf. *Cod. lat. Monac.,* 3909, *Cod. Sangallensis,* 676, *Cod.* Leidensis, xviii. Q. 17.

[4] *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.,* 1. pp. 153 ff.

[5] F. Cabrol, *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie,* vol. ii (fasc. xv), col. 961.

into touch with the remnants of the old Latin Christianity of the Danube. In his very suggestive article *Some Creed Problems*,[1] Mr. Barns has called attention to a fact which is probably the missing link in the evidence relating to the formation of T. The words *creatorem caeli et terrae* are first found in the Creed of Niceta of Remesiana, and in a contemporary creed preserved in some Arian fragments belonging to the same district bordering on the Danube. They are not found in the pure Gallican type, and the crux of the investigation of the history of T has been to find the source from which they may have come into it. S. Columban and his companion S. Gall were welcomed on the Lake of Constance by the Christian priest of Arbon, who represented the remnant of the influence of the Latin Church of Illyricum from the days when there was a strong current from behind the Balkans to N. Italy and Gaul. The call came to S. Columban to go over the Brenner, "to strengthen the church along the highway of the East, on the confines of the ancient province of Illyricum. He left S. Gall on the Lake of Constance and himself settled at Bobbio."[2] Thus the experience of S. Columban brought him into touch with both the sources from which the old Western Creed was ultimately enriched, the Gallican type including *descendit ad inferna*, *communionem sanctorum*, etc., already familiar to Celtic Churchmen, and the clause *creatorem caeli et terrae* which that type lacked.

Regarding the Sacramentary as in any case summarising the liturgical interests of Columban's day, I turn to analyse its creed-forms, which I distinguish as A. AE. B. C. The first three are Baptismal Creeds, the fourth is an isolated form which was probably used in the Hour Offices.[3] A is reproduced in facsimile in Pl. 5.

The first Creed (A) is interpolated in a sermon used at the *Traditio Symboli* in a section which is probably of Roman origin. It follows the ceremony known as *apertio aurium* or delivery of the first words of the four Gospels. This was a Roman custom. We gather that A represents the creed used by the monks at Luxeuil about A.D. 700. It differs from T by the substitution of *Credo* for *et* in Art. 2, also of *unigenitum sempiternum* for *unicum*, and it omits *Dominum*. This variation recurs in the Gallican Missal (forms A, AE), and has been attributed to the influence of the *Te Deum*.[4]

The creed AE, which is embedded in the exposition, is nearer to the text of R than to the Gallican text of the sixth century. But it has several, so to speak, Gallican encrustations, *conceptus, mortuum, descendit ad inferna, omnipotentis, catholicam, uitam aeternam*.

The sermon has interesting points of connection with Ps. Aug. Serm. 243, which has been traced back to the sixth century; but the question has not been decided whether it comes from Gaul or Italy. Kattenbusch calls attention to the fact that its construction *qui conceptus est, qui passus est* is like R, so that it forms a connecting link between R and T.[5] The MSS. in which it is found should be investigated.

[1] *Journal of Theol. Studies*, 1906, p. 501.
[2] Barns, *art. cit.*, p. 516.
[3] Kattenbusch, i, p. 55, ii, p. 747, n. 34, p. 881, n. 14.
[4] *Ib.* ii, p. 776, n. 28.
[5] ii, p. 982.

| A E (Sacr. Gallic.) | Ps. Aug. 243. |
|---|---|
| Spiritum sanctum audis auctorem: ne dubitas uirginem potuisse concipere . . . Cur non credis eum in utero uirginis hominem figurâsse, quem credis hominem fecisse de terra? Nec Mariam dubites uirginem mansisse post partum . . . | Cum Spiritum sanctum ministratorem tantae natiuitatis audieris, nullatenus dubites uirginem potuisse concipere. Cur non credis cum in utero incorruptae uirginis potuisse figurare, quem credere deles hominem fecisse de limo terrae? Nec dubites Mariam uirginem mansisse post partum. |
| Si te triduana domini tui sepultura conturbat, resurrectio magis aeterna confirmet. Quidquid infirmitatis audis in Christo, mysterium est. | Si te triduana domini sepultura conturbat, resurrectio gloriosa confirmet. Quidquid enim infirmitatis audis in Christo, nostrae hoc necessitatis, nostrae redemptionis est causa. |
| Ecce ille qui ab iniquis est iudicatus in terris, de sede caelesti iudicaturus aduenit. | Ipse qui ab iniquis et impiis iudicatus est ad mortem, ipse omnes bonos et iustos iudicaturus est ad gloriam. |
| . . . et carnis tuae resurrectio reparetur in aeternum. | . . . ut carnis tuae resurrectio te reparet in aeternum. |

The third Creed (B) of this Sacramentary is an Interrogative Creed in the service of Baptism used on Easter Eve in a section which is plainly derived from a Gallican source.

There is a collect for the washing of the feet after Baptism which was a Gallican custom. The form of Renunciation is also Gallican, and the Baptismal formula has an addition *unam habentem substantiam* which finds a parallel in the Creed of the Bangor Antiphonary. From the same Gallican or Celtic source comes the last phrase of the Creed *uitam habere post mortem, in gloriam Christi resurgere.* B appears to me to be the work of some Irish monk, who, in the archetype of this section or in this MS. itself, improved the form after the model of the Creed in the Bangor Antiphonary, which comes to us from Bobbio, though its form may have been equally familiar to the Celtic monks of Luxeuil.

## § 5.—The Gallican Missal.

*Cod. Vat. Pal.* 493, the so-called Gallican Missal, is a volume containing fragments of two Sacramentaries which have been bound up together. Some of the leaves have been misplaced, so that the printed editions present a confused jumble of prayers. Our facsimiles are taken from the first sacramentary,[1] which has been connected with the diocese of Auxerre. They exhibit the form of Creed which has been interpolated at the beginning of a sermon delivered at the Tradition of the Creed. The context contains prayers, which are found also in the so-called Gothic Missal (*Cod. Vat. Reg.* 317) which is connected with the diocese of Autun. Dr. Traube points out the close palaeographical relationship of the two MSS., concluding that our MS. (Palatinus) "belongs to the school of Luxeuil, was written at the beginning of the eighth century, and came from Burgundy to Lorsch in the ninth century, by way of one of the cloisters that had relations with Germany."

The sermon in which the Creed is quoted is also found among the Pseudo-Augustinian

[1] It comprises folios 1–18. In the printed edition it extends from section i–iii*a* down to the word "Fanuelis" (fol. 10*b*) ed. Neale and Forbes, p. 155, ed. Mabillon, p. 332; and again from section xv*b* the words "Pater ex alto" (Neale and Forbes, p. 171, Mabillon, p. 346)—xvi *ad fin.* Our facsimiles are of *fols.* 16*a*, 16*b*, 17*a* (section xvi).

sermons, No. 242. The text in this sacramentary is defective, and the Creed-form is cut short in the exposition, although the interpolated form at the beginning is complete. I call it interpolated because in these cases we can always extract an earlier Creed from the exposition than that which we find quoted at the beginning, and which probably in each case represents the form familiar to the copyist. Certainly the tendency would always be to assimilate a form.

The sermon Ps. Aug. 242 is found, however, in its completeness in *Cod. lat. Monacensis* 6298, of which I give two facsimiles (Pl. 20, 21). The Munich MS. comes from the monastery of St. Emmeran in the diocese of Freising, and is an eighth century MS., so that we have the advantage of comparing two forms which *ex hypothesi* have been interpolated, the one (*Cod. Palatinus*) in a monastery of the school of Luxeuil in the diocese of Auxerre (*c.* A.D. 700), and the other (*Cod. Monacensis*) in the monastery of St. Emmeran in the diocese of Freising some seventy years later.

Both forms are substantially like T, but the Palatinus omits *descendit ad inferna*, inserts *uictor* after *ascendit*,[1] and preserves the old Gallican reading *abremissione peccatorum*. Turning to the sermon, Ps. Aug. 242, we note that in the Munich MS. it is found in a collection of Gallican origin, probably made by Caesarius of Arles, though this sermon does not show the characteristics of his style. Mindful of the uncertainty which attends the extraction of a creed-form from the exposition in which it is embedded, we note the omission of *unicum dominum nostrum, mortuus, descendit ad inferna*, and all mention of the Session in art. 7. These omissions find parallels in the old Gallican creeds, and the threefold repetition of *Credo* clinches the argument that this is an old Gallican sermon containing an old Gallican creed, which probably had *abremissione* at first, the reading preserved in *Cod. Palatinus*, and has had *creatorem caeli et terrae* added to it in the exposition as in the interpolated creed.[2]

| *Missale Gallicanum.* | *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 242.[4] | |
|---|---|---|
| B.[3] | A. | E. |
| 1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, *creatorem*[5] *caeli et terrae.*[6] | 1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, *creatorem caeli*[7] *et terrae.* | 1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, *creatorem caeli et terrae.* |
| 2. Et in <Iesum Christum> Filium eius, unicum Dominum nostrum, | 2. Et in <Iesum Christum> Filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum, | 2. Credo et in <Iesum Christum> Filium eius . . . |
| 3. qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto natus *ex* Maria uirgine | 3. qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto [natus][8] *ex* Maria uirgine | 3. qui *conceptus* de Spiritu sancto natus *ex* Maria uirgine |

[1] The history of this picturesque addition is still obscure, but I may note that it is found in the MSS. of a sermon *Symbolum graeca lingua* (Vesoul MS. 73, Cod. Sangall., 732), and in a sermon *Quicumque uult esse saluus* (Codd. Vat. Pal. 212, 220), both of which I have published *Zeitschrift für KG.*, xxi, p. 128, and in Ps. Aug. Serm. 238. It came in probably from an exposition, since it occurs in the exposition of Ps. Aug. Serm., 240, and in the sermon *Auscultate expositionem* (*Z. für KG.*, xix, 179).

[2] The *huius* (*carnis*) which Hahn[3], p. 47, and others insert belongs to the exposition and not to the creed-form since the Munich MS. reads *huius affectu carnis.*

[3] The exposition in the Missale Gallicanum (= *Ps. Aug. Serm.*, 242) is defective. The creed-form is: Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, *creatorem caeli et terrae. Credo* in Filio eius.

[4] I quote the text of Ps. Aug. 242, A and E from *Cod. lat. Monacensis*, 6298, *saec.* viii.

[5] *Cod.* creatori. [6] terre. [7] celi. [8] natus *supr. lin. man. sec.*

| *Missale Gallicanum.* B. | *Ps. Aug. Serm.* 242. A. | E. |
|---|---|---|
| 4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus *mortuus* et sepultus | 4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato[1] crucifixus *mortuus* et sepultus *descendit*[2] *ad inferna* | 4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est . . . et sepultus |
| * * * | | * * * |
| 5. tertia[3] die resurrexit a mortuis | 5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis | 5. tertia die resurrexit * * |
| 6. ascendit *uictor ad* caelos[4] | 6. ascendit in caelo | 6. ascendit *ad* caelos, |
| 7. sed*it* ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis*, | 7. sed*it* ad dexteram [*Dei*][5] Patris *omnipotentis*, | 7. |
| 8. *inde* uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos | 8. *inde* uenturus iudicare uiuos *ac* mortuos | 8. *inde* uenturus[6] iudicare uiuos et mortuos |
| 9. *Credo* in sancto Spiritu | 9. *Credo* et in Spiritum sanctum[7] | 9. *Credo* et in Spiritum sanctum |
| 10. sancta ecclesia[8] *catholica sanctorum communionem* | 10. sanctam ecclesiam[9] *catholicam*[10] *sanctorum communionem*[11] | 10. sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam sanctorum communionem* |
| 11. *abremissione* peccatorum | 11. remissionem peccatorum | 11. remissionem peccatorum |
| 12. carnis resurrectionem[12] *uitam aeternam.* | 12. carnis resurrectionem *et uitam aeternam.* | 12. carnis resurrectionem *uitam aeternam.* |

## § 6.—The Sacramentary of Gellone.

The so-called Sacramentary of Gellone (*Cod. Paris. lat.* 12048) was, as Dr. Traube has shown, probably written in the monastery of Rebais, in the diocese of Meaux, during the episcopate of Romanus *c.* A.D. 750. The Sacramentary belongs to the Gelasian class, though it includes masses of the eighth century.[13] It contains two Orders of Baptism.

In the first the *Interrogationes de fide* remind us of R:

> Credis in Deum patrem omnipotentem? ℟ Credo.
> Et in Christum Filium eius unicum dominum nostrum? ℟ Credo.
> Credis et in Spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem? ℟ Credo.

Martène says that the custom of reciting the creed in Greek over a boy and in Latin over a girl is preserved in this Order, but he does not quote the creed-form.

In the second Order from which our facsimile is taken there is a similar reference to the two languages. The recitation of the Creed follows the *apertio aurium*, which is a characteristic part of the Roman office. To the question "In what language does the child confess?" the acolyte answers "In Latin." After the Creed follows the summary of the Gelasian Sacramentary. The form is T, and it is important to note that it occurs in precisely the context in which the Gelasian Sacramentary has the Constantinopolitan Creed. In fact it nullifies the argument, which has been founded on the Gelasian Sacramentary, to the effect that in

[1] philato.
[2] discendit.
[3] tercia.
[4] celos.
[5] dei *supr. lin.*
[6] inde uenturus *supr. lin.*
[7] sanctum *supr. lin. man. sec.*
[8] eclisia.
[9] aeclesiam.
[10] *seq. tres. litt. ras. ut uid.*
[11] commonionem.
[12] resurreccionem.
[13] *e.g.*, *Feriae V. in Quadragesima.* Baeumer, *Hist. Jahrb.*, 1893, p. 242.

Rome R had been exchanged for C, that it was only under the influence of Charles the Great that T, the Gallicanised form of the Western Creed, was accepted in place of C.

An insuperable objection to that argument seems to me to lie in the fact that the Roman missionaries to Britain who traversed Gaul in the seventh century took with them at first R, and then possibly T, but never C. If C had been substituted for R some traces of its use would have spread to Britain.

The evidence of the Gelasian Sacramentary can be easily explained if we suppose that during the time of Byzantine influence C, the Baptismal Creed of Constantinople, was offered to Greek-speaking catechumens as the equivalent of R[1], the Greek text of which had been long ago forgotten. Time passed, and there were no more Greek-speaking catechumens. It became necessary to explain the existence of two parallel forms, and the absurd explanation was given that the second was used for girls! The Order of Baptism of Vienne, which is dependent on the sources of the Gelasian Sacramentary, confirms this explanation. The question is put to the Godparents, "Is Greek understood?" The answer "No" follows, and then *Credo in Deum.*[2]

Some pages later is the form for the Baptism of a sick catechumen. The collect for the blessing of the water is the same as that found in the Gelasian Sacramentary, but the Interrogative form of Creed is the Gallican form without *creatorem caeli et terrae*, which is substituted for the shortened form of R used in the Gelasian Sacramentary. I will print the two forms side by side.

*Sacramentarium Gellonense.*

*fol.* 181 *a.*

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, *creatorem caeli et terrae*
2. Et in (Iesum Christum Filium) eius unicum dominum nostrum,
3. Qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto natus *ex* Maria uirgine,
4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus *mortuus* et sepultus, *descendit ad inferna*
5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
6. ascendit *ad* caelos,
7. sed*it* ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis*
8. *inde* uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos
9. Credo in Spiritum sanctum,
10. sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam sanctorum communionem,*
11. remissionem peccatorum,
12. carnis resurrectionem, *uitam aeternam.*

*fol.* 191 *b.*

1. Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem * * * *
2. *Credis* et in (Iesum Christum) Filium eius unicum dominum nostrum
3. qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto natus *ex* Maria uirgine,
4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus *mortuus* et sepultus, *descendit ad inferna,*
5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
6. ascendit *ad* caelos,
7. sed*it* ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis*
8. *inde* uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos
9. Cred*is* in Spiritum sanctum,
10. sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam sanctorum communionem,*
11. remissionem peccatorum,
12. carnis resurrectionem, *uitam aeternam.*

[1] Pope Vigilius in his Encyclical called C *Symbolum*, and the Latin text in use at Rome had phrases in common with R.

[2] Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, lib. I. cap. i. Ord. 12. (vol. i, p. 42, ed. 1763).

## § 7.—Codex Einsidlensis, 199.

The full title of the treatise, from which we quote the first dated appearance of T, is *Dicta Abbatis Priminii de singulis libris canonicis scarapsus.* Very little is known about the personal history of Priminius. He came to Alamannia as a "*peregrinus*," and founded monasteries of which the best known is Reichenau. Driven thence, he ended his days in the Abbey of Hornbach, where he received a visit from his friend Boniface, who was starting on his last missionary journey.

Dr. Traube's notes prove that the MS. may have been written at any of the monasteries specially associated with the name of Priminius, *e.g.* Reichenau or Murbach. The relations of the script to Spanish handwriting are very interesting. They coincide with the internal evidence of the treatise which is dependent on a writing of Martin of Bracara. Such dependence, to which Dr. Traube does not refer, confirms his suggestion that Priminius may have been a Spaniard. The ordinary view that he was an Irish monk has no better support.

Priminius quotes the Apostles' Creed in three different contexts. In the first (*c.* 10) he narrates the legend of its Apostolic origin. In the second (*c.* 12), from which our facsimile is taken, he describes the ceremonies of Baptism. The third (*c.* 28) is a summary instruction on faith and morals. The variations in the creed-texts are trifling.

To show the dependence of Priminius in this passage on the earlier treatise of Martin of Bracara *de correctione rusticorum,* I will indicate the words quoted by thick type. But it will at once appear that he deliberately altered both the form of Renunciation and the form of Creed.

### *Dicta abbatis Priminii.*

Ideo, fratres, ad memoriam uestram reducimus **qualem pactum in ipso baptistirio cum deo fecimus, v.g.** cum interrogati **singuli nomen** nostrum **a sacerdote** fuimus, quomodo diceremur, **respondisti aut tu, si iam poteras respondere, aut certe qui pro te fidem fecit, qui te de fonte suscepit, et dixit : Iohannis dicitur,** aut aliud nomen. **Et interrogauit sacerdos: Iohannis, abrenuncias diabulo et omnibus operibus eius** *et omnibus pompis eius ?* **Respondisti : Abrenuntio,** hoc est despitio et derelinquo omnia opera mala et diabolica. **Post istam abrenuntiationem diabuli** et omnibus operibus eius, et **interrogatus es a sacerdote :** *Credis in deum patrem omnipotentem, creatorem caeli et terrae ?* Et respondisti : *Credo.* Et iterum : *Credis et in Iesum Christum filium eius unicum, dominum nostrum, qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, discendit ad inferna, tertia die surrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad caelos, sedit ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis, inde uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos ?* Et respondisti : *Credo.* Et tertio interrogauit sacerdos : *Credis et in spiritu sancto, sancta aecclesia catholica, sanctorum communione, remissione peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, uitam eternam.* **Respondisti** aut tu, aut patrinus pro te : **Credo. Ecce pactio qualis** et promissio uel confessio uestra apud deum tenetur. Et credens baptizatus es in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti in remissione omnium peccatorum, et unctus es a sacerdote chrisma salutis in uitam aeternam, et induit corpus tuum uestem candidam, et Christus animam tuam induit gratiam celestem, et adsignatus est tibi sanctus angelus ad custodiendum te . . . . .

To point the contrast between Martin's form of Renunciation and that of Priminius, I will quote them in parallel columns with other Gallican forms.

Martin † 580.

Promisistis uos abrenuntiare diabolo et angelis eius et omnibus operibus eius malis.

Eligius of Noyon † 659.

Abrenuntiastis enim diabolo et pompis et operibus eius.

*Miss. Gallic.*

Abrenuncias Satanae, pompis saeculi, et uoluptatibus eius?

*Sacr. Gallic.*

Abrenuncias Satanae, pompis eius, luxuriis suis, saeculo huic?

Priminius.

Abrenuntias diabolo et omnibus operibus eius et omnibus pompis eius?

Roman rite (*Sacr. Gelas.* and *Greg.*)

Abrenuntias Satanae et omnibus operibus eius et omnibus pompis eius?

Martin's Creed was as follows, the points at which it varies from the Creed of Priminius being indicated by asterisks and italics.

Credo in Deum Patrem * * * * . Et in Ies*u* Christ*o*, fili*o* eius unic*o*, *deo et domino nostro*, qui *natus* est de Spiritu sancto * *a* Maria uirgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus * et sepultus, [descendit ad inferna],[1] tertia die resurrexit *uiuus* a mortuis, ascendit *in* caelos, sed*et* ad dexteram * Patris * , inde uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos. Credo in (sanctum Spiritum), sancta*m* ecclesia*m* catholica*m* * * remissione*m omnium* peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem *et* uitam aeternam.

It is true that Priminius is not giving a full account of the ceremonies of baptism, so that it is not wise to lay much stress on the fact that he speaks of baptism as following the recitation of the Creed. This was a Roman custom, for in Gallican services an interval was allowed to elapse.[2] But the cumulative argument is strong when we note that in addition to the Roman form of Renunciation he adds a reminiscence of the Roman prayer of Unction after baptism which may be contrasted with the Gallican prayer as follows :—

Roman.

Deus omnipotens, Pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui te regenerauit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, quique dedit tibi remissionem omnium peccatorum, ipse te linit chrismate salutis in uitam aeternam.

Gallican.

Deus Pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui te regenerauit per aquam et Spiritum sanctum, quique tibi dedit remissionem peccatorum per lauacrum regenerationis et sanguinem, ipse te liniat chrismate suo sancto in uitam aeternam.

There can be little doubt that Priminius had the Roman prayer in his mind when he wrote: *chrisma*[3] *salutis in uitam aeternam.* May we not in default of other evidence assume that his creed also was derived from a Roman source? The evidence of Priminius thus brings us to the crux of this whole investigation into the origin of T, since the occurrence of T in his treatise, which was written about A.D. 730, is its first dated appearance, though in other MSS. we have found forms closely approximating to it. In another section we will endeavour to survey the whole evidence.

[1] *om. Cod. Bernensis, codd. Sangall.*

[2] In the Gallican Order the recitation of the Creed took place on Maundy Thursday: Martin of Bracara can. 49. Ildefonsus, c. 34.

[3] The form *chrisma* is found in *Miss. Gallic.* as a noun of the first declension (*ed.* Mabillon, p. 363).

## § 8.—Conclusions.

The conclusions to which I am led by the evidence are as follows :—

The existence of a Gallican type of creed, used by Caesarius of Arles and Cyprian of Toulon, has been proved. It may be traced in the writing of Eligius of Noyon, and in other sermons such as Ps. Aug. 242, as in the Gallican sections of Sacramentaries, the Gallican Missal and the Sacramentary of Gellone.

The history of the Creed in Britain began with Gallican forms of the type preserved in the Bangor Antiphonary, which Celtic Christianity may have inherited through St. Patrick from Lerins. But the type brought by the missionaries who followed Augustine was of the simpler character of R, though the process of assimilation to the Celtic Creed soon began. The Creed of *Cod. Bernensis* N. 645 is, as it were, a wreck cast up by the tide of change.

The occurrence of forms approximating to T at an earlier date than the Creed of Priminius such as we find in the Gallican Sacramentary may lead eventually to proof that T came into existence at Bobbio or more probably Luxeuil. But it does not invalidate the conclusion that it was disseminated from those centres of monastic life in conformity with Roman custom, and was probably substituted for R in Rome by one of the Popes before A.D. 700.

All the evidence seems to converge on this conclusion. Amalarius of Trèves recommended T to Charles the Great with the statement that he followed the *Ordo Romanus*. The new text of the seventh *Ordo Romanus* in *Cod. Sessorianus* 52 proves the existence of T in a Roman collection of the ninth century. Priminius, the friend of Boniface, is found to quote the Roman form of Renunciation and the Roman prayer of Unction. Though it is not clear from his writings what form Boniface used, there can be little doubt that he and his disciples generally used T. The form which we have found interpolated at Luxeuil in the seventh century finds increasing acceptance in the eighth century. The evidence of Priminius coincides with the evidence of the Gallican Missal and the Sacramentary of Gellone. There was a constant Romanising of liturgical forms at work throughout Gaul during the eighth century. Among other attempts which Charles made to bring order out of chaos we must put his acceptance of T, which arrived at its oecumenical position through the corrected Psalters that spread from his schools all over the west. We can see, however, clearly that he inherited a tradition which was nearly a century old. He built on foundations already laid by Pope Gregory II., and that great missionary Boniface. Thus the old Roman Creed, enriched by contributions both from east and west, from the Church of the Danube lands and the early Gallican Church, grew into its final form and began its career as the Baptismal Creed of all Western Christendom.

# II. THE NICENE CREED.

## § 1.—The Creed of the Nicene Council (N).

*Cod. Vatic. lat.* 1322, *saec.* vi. vii.
*Cod. Tolosanus* 364 (I. 63), *saec.* vii.

The type of the text of N quoted in *Cod. Vat. lat.* 1322 is taken from the *Actio Sexta* of the Council of Chalcedon in the version of Rusticus, which is dependent on a MS. from the Monastery of the Sleepless Monks at Constantinople. It is corrupted both by additions and omissions, which probably represent the influence of the *Constantinopolitanum* (C) as the Baptismal Creed of Constantinople, certainly from A.D. 451. This does not surprise us when we bear in mind the tendency of copyists to assimilate forms. The omission of words corresponding to τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, which are not found in C, is probably intentional, but the omission of *lumen de lumine* is probably a blunder. I have indicated additions by square brackets [ ] and omissions by asterisks. On the whole the text is purer than the Greek text which I have quoted from Mansi's *Concilia*, vii, p. 110 (Facsimile, 1901), setting its variations beside the original text as quoted by Athanasius *de Decretis*.

The text transmitted by *Cod. Tolosanus*, which is taken from the letter of Pope Leo I. to the Emperor Leo I., is pure, and bears testimony to the accuracy of Roman theologians. It confirms also the accuracy of the translation transmitted by Hilary *de Synodis*. I have noted the trifling variations.

There is not much to say about this text. Full information about other Latin versions can be obtained from Mr. Turner's well-known book, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* (Clarendon Press).

| Cod. Vatic.[1] | Cod. Tolos. (with the variations found in text quoted in Hil. *de Synodis*). |
|---|---|
| Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, [factorem caeli et terrae] uisibilium omnium et inuisibilium : | Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem uisibilium et inuisibilium factorem. |
| Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum Filium Dei unigenitum, qui natus est de [ex] Patre [ante omnia saecula] . . . . . | Et in unum Dominum nostrum Iesum filium Dei natum de Patre unigenitum hoc est de substantia Patris, Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, |

5 inuisibilium : uisibilium V.
7 de : de ex V.

4 uisibilium : *pr.* omnium *Hil.*
5 Iesum + Christum *Hil.*
7 de : ex *Hil.*
9 de : ex *Hil.*

COD. VATIC.[1]

Deum uerum de Deo uero, natum non factum, consubstantialem Patri, per quem omnia facta sunt;

qui [propter] nos homines et propter salutem nostram discendit et incarnatus est atque humanatus est et passus est et resurrexit tertia die et ascendit in caelos, uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos:

Et in Spiritum sanctum.

Eos autem qui dicunt: Erat aliquando quando non erat, et priusquam nasceretur non erat, [quia] Ex non extantibus factus est, aut Ex alia subsistentia uel substantia dicentes esse aut conuertibilem aut mutabilem Filium Dei, hos anathematizat catholica et apostolica Dei ecclesia.

COD. TOLOS.

Deum uerum de Deo uero, natum non factum unius substantiae cum Patre, quod Graeci dicunt omousion, per quem omnia facta sunt, siue quae in caelo siue quae in terra.

qui propter nostram salutem discendit incarnatus est et homo factus est passus est resurrexit tertia die ascendit in caelos uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos

Et in Spiritum sanctum.

[1] 11 propter: V. *cen.*
12 nostra V.
14 ascindit V.
16 in: *supr. lin.* V.
20 alia: lia V.
23 apostholica V. Dei *supr. lin.* V.

12 Graece *Hil.*
12 homousion *Hil.*
13 *om.* siue *Hil.*
13 siue quae: et *Hil.*
16 passus: *pr.* et *Hil.* resurrexit: *pr.* et *Hil.*
17 ascendit: *pr.* et *Hil.*

## CREED OF NICENE COUNCIL.

(*Euseb. Ep. ad Caes. ap. Ath. de Decretis.*)

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα
παντοκράτορα πάντων ὁράτων τε καὶ
ἀοράτων ποιητήν
Καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν
Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, + γεννηθέντα
ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν
ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ
Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ
ἀληθινοῦ,
γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον
τῷ πατρί δι οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο
τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ,
τὸν δι ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ

Variations in the Greek Text of Chalcedonian Definition.

+ τὸν

*om.* τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καί τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ

| | |
|---|---|
| διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα + | + ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν |
| καὶ σαρκωθέντα + καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα + | + ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου |
| παθόντα + καὶ ἀναστάντα | + σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου |
| τῇ τριτῇ ἡμέρᾳ + ἀνελθόντα εἰς | + καὶ ταφέντα |
| | + κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς καὶ |
| τοὺς οὐρανοὺς +, καὶ ἐρχόμενον + κρῖναι | + καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ πάλιν |
| ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς +. | + μετὰ δόξης |
| | + οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. |
| Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα + | *tr.* τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον |
| Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν | + τὸ κύριον τὸ ζωοποιόν |
| καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν, ἢ τρεπτὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν | *om.* ἢ κτιστὸν |
| τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, + | + τούτους |
| ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ + ἐκκλησία. | + ἀποστολικὴ |

## § 2.—Constantinopolitanum.

The type of the text of C which is transmitted in the Vatican and Toulouse MSS. is the form which is quoted in the sixth *Actio* of the Council of Chalcedon. To explain its importance I must say something of recent enquiries into the history of C.

It is commonly agreed that C is a revised text of the Creed of Jerusalem, which was mentioned, if not discussed, at the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381. At the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, it was read from the now lost Acts of the former Council and was quoted as in some sense their exposition, i.e. "the exposition of the 150 Fathers."

That it was not edited by the Council of Constantinople may be proved by the fact that it was quoted by Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, in his treatise *Ancoratus*, which was written about the year A.D. 374. Some priests and leading churchmen of Syedra in Pamphylia had asked him for an exposition of Catholic Teaching on the Trinity. He appears to imply that it had been introduced into his diocese as a Baptismal Creed. His words are ambiguous, but by a simple emendation, the addition of καὶ before ἀπὸ πάντων, Dr. Bindley shows that they may be taken to give a consistent and true statement, namely, that the Creed was composed of apostolic, Jerusalem, and Nicene teaching[1]: *καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἡ πίστις παρεδόθη ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἁγίᾳ πόλει* [καὶ] *ἀπὸ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων ὑπὲρ τριακοσίων δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν.*

[1] *Oecumenical Documents*, 1899, p. 72.

There can be no question that the revision of the Jerusalem Creed quoted by Epiphanius was the work of Cyril of Jerusalem, since three of the changes made in the old form, apart from the introduction of Nicene phrases, express opinions which he had taught definitely in his Catechetical lectures. These changes are καθεζόμενον for καθίσαντα, μετὰ δόξης for ἐν δόξῃ, νεκρῶν for σαρκός.

At Chalcedon C was quoted in the first session by Diogenes of Cyzicus. He accused Eutyches of falsehood in denying that the faith of the Nicene Council could receive additions. "It received an addition from the holy Fathers because of the perversities of Apollinarius and Valentinus and Macedonius and men like them; and there have been added to the symbol of the Fathers the words, 'who came down and was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary.'"

At the second session when N had been read and received with enthusiasm, Aetius, Archdeacon of Constantinople, read C as "the holy faith which the 150 holy Fathers set forth in harmony with the holy and great Synod at Nicaea." It was greeted with exclamations such as: "This is the faith of all, this is the faith of the orthodox, so we all believe." At the close of the conference the Imperial Commissioners directed those who had doubts to come to conference with Anatolius, Archbishop of Constantinople. It seems that Constantinopolitan churchmen, who had naturally a greater interest in the Council of 381 than the representatives of other Churches, pressed for recognition of the Creed which they had come to regard as its work. In all probability the form in which they brought it forward at the second session was the form in which they had for some time used it as their Baptismal Creed. The result of the Conference with Anatolius was the triumph of the form which was brought up at the fifth session and confirmed in the Definition of the Council at the sixth session, with the concurrence if not the assistance of the Papal legates.

Dr. Kunze has suggested,[1] and the idea was hailed by Dr. Kattenbusch,[2] that Leo's letter to Flavian gave the impulse to put C forward because it contained a parallel to the words "qui natus est de Spiritu sancto et Maria uirgine," which Leo quoted from the Old Roman Creed. There was no parallel to them in N. In the form quoted at the sixth session there is another parallel in the words "crucifixus est . . . et sepultus" on which again the Pope laid stress. We may even question whether the Pope had not this form of C in his mind when he wrote so emphatically of the teaching as professed "in the common and undistinguishable confession" by all the faithful, and as confessed in the Creed by all.[3]

It is noteworthy that the same form is quoted by Pope Vigilius in his *Constitutum*.

The omission of the *Filioque* may be noted. Until many more MSS. have been carefully collated it is perhaps rash to raise the ultimate question whether we have not in this old Latin version the purest text of the original Constantinopolitan Creed.

There was less temptation to assimilate texts in the west where the Apostles' Creed was used at Baptisms. This process of assimilation of the texts of N and C had begun before the Council of Ephesus, and was acknowledged in so many words at Chalcedon, when the text published in the sixth session differed from that quoted by Aetius at the second session.

[1] *Das Nicänisch-Konstantinopolitanische Symbol*, p. 37.

[2] *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1898, col. 681.

[3] *c.* ii: illam communem et indiscretam confessionem . . . qua fidelium uniuersitas profitetur: *c.* v: omnes etiam in Symbolo confitemur.

I will quote the text of C as published in the sixth session, comparing other MSS. with the Vatican and Toulouse MSS.

C in Council of Chalcedon, Rusticus' version of *Actio sexta.*

A, Cod. Albigensis 2 *saec.* ix. } MSS. of the same collection. Their agreement is
T, Cod. Tolosanus 364 (I. 63) *saec.* vii. } marked as T.
N, *Cod. Vat.* 1322 *saec.* vi.
M, *Cod. Mediolanensis Ambrosianus* E 147 *sup.* p. 124, saec. vii–viii. [Another MS. of the collection of Rusticus from Bobbio.]
*f*, *Cod. Vat.* 1127 *saec.* ix from Angoulême } This agreement is marked
F, *Cod. Paris. B.N. lat.* 1451 *saec.* ix *in.* Collection of St. Maur } as F.
H, Translation in Hadrian's edition of *Dionysius Exiguus*, printed by Hahn,[3] p. 165.
*Vig.* Text found in the *Constitutum* of Pope Vigilius (553) Migne P.L. lxix, 145.
*cant.* *Cod. Cantabrig.* G g. 5. 35 *saec.* xi from S. Augustine's, Canterbury.

ITERVM SYMBOLVM CENTVM QVINQVAGINTA.

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, uisibilium omnium et inuisibilium:

et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum Filium Dei unigenitum, natum ex Patre ante omnia saecula * * Deum uerum de Deo uero, natum non factum, consubstantialem Patri per quem omnia facta sunt; qui propter nos homines et salutem nostram descendit * et incarnatus est de Spiritu sancto et Maria uirgine, et humanatus est et crucifixus est pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato *, et sepultus est et resurrexit tertia die *, ascendit in caelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris, iterum uenturus [est] cum gloria iudicare uiuos et mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis:

et in Spiritum sanctum Dominum et uiuificantem ex Patre * procedentem, cum Patre et Filio adorandum et conglorificandum, qui locutus est per sanctos prophetas: in unam * catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam; confitemur unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum: expectamus resurrectionem mortuorum [et] uitam futuri saeculi. AMEN.

1. ITERVM: ITEM M IDEM ET CENTVM QVINQVAGINTA SANCTORVM PATRVM QVI CONSTANTINOPOLIM CONGREGATI SVNT F EXPOSITIO FIDEI CL SANCTORVM [+ PATRVM A*] QVI CONSTANTINOPOLIM CONGREGATI SVNT T. 2. credo *cant.* omnium: *om.* T. 4. in: *om.* T. unigenitum: *om.* TH. omnia: *om.* M. 6. et 1°: + propter F *cant.* *tr.* nostram salutem F *cant.* discindit N; + de caelis H *cant.* 7. et (*ante* Maria): ex H. et humanatus (inhumatus T) est et: et homo factus est *cant.* est (*post* humanatus): *om.* *Vig.* pro nobis: propter nos F. sup N. Pilato: + passus *cant.* 8. die: + secundum scripturas *cant.* ascindit N. in: ad T caelo N caelum H *cant.* sedit N * *Vig. cant.* (*praem* et *Vig.*) iterum: *praem* et F *cant.* 9. est: *om.* MFTH *Vig.* quuius M. *tr.* finis non erit T. 10. uiuificatorem F qui ex Patre Filioque procedit *cant.* qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur *cant.* Patrem *f.* 11. coadorandum et glorificandum *Vig.* loquutus MT. sanctos: *om. f* * *cant.* in: et H *cant.* et in *Vig.* unam: + sanctam H *cant.* 12. confiteor A * (*corr. mp*) *cant.* apostholicam MN baptismā T baptismam A in remissione T *cant.* expectamus: speramus. *Vig.* et expecto *cant.* 13. resurrectione mortuorum T. et: *om.* MT. futuri *f.*

# III. THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

## § 1.—Introduction.

This collection of facsimiles of MSS. of the so-called Athanasian Creed has been made with the object of proving beyond all doubt that the *textus receptus* has existed from the seventh century. We are not now concerned with the evidence of Commentaries, or Quotations (either in sermons or in the Canons of Councils), or with the internal evidence by which the date of the creed may be set back, certainly to the sixth and probably to the fifth century.

Having lost the valued aid of Dr. Traube at this point, I have somewhat enlarged the palaeographical notes at the beginning of each section.

## § 2.—Leidrat's MS.

The MS. is preserved in the library of the Marist Fathers of Sainte-Foi-lès-Lyon. It consists of 114 leaves, the size being 260 × 175 mm. They are arranged in gatherings of eight leaves, except that the third has only six, and the fifth ten. The signatures i–xiii end on *fol.* 104. The four leaves following, in two gatherings, have no signatures. What might be a sixteenth gathering is reduced to a single sheet, which the binder by mistake has wrapped round the preceding gathering so that the two leaves of this sheet are numbered 109 and 114. These details are necessary to explain the fact that the text of the *Quicumque* begins on *fol.* 109$^{v}$ and is continued on *fol.* 114$^{v}$. The script is ordinary Caroline minuscule. A full description of it has been published by M. Léopold Delisle[1] whose attention was drawn to it by M. l'Abbé J.-B. Martin, to whom I am indebted for help in procuring the photographs.

The central point of interest in the MS. lies in the autograph note on *fol.* 1$^{v}$.

> Leidrat licet indignus tamen ep*iscopus*
> istum librum tradidi ad altare
> s*ancti* stephani.

The same dedication is found in three other MSS., some treatises by S. Augustine in the library at Lyons (MS. 608 [524]), and the Commentary of S. Jerome on Isaiah in a MS. at Paris (Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 152), also in Lyons 599 [515] Rufinus' version of Gregory of Nazianzus.

All these dedications seem to have been written by the Bishop himself. A secretary might have used the formula *licet indignus*, but would almost certainly have used the Latin form of the name Leidradus.[2] Leidrat held the see of Lyons from A.D. 798–814 when he resigned. The MS. must have been written before 814, but not much earlier, because it contains verses by Alcuin.

[1] *Notices et extraits des Manuscrits*, xxxv, 2$^{e}$ partie.

[2] M. Delisle quotes a MS. (Lyons Library 526) in which a similar dedication has been erased by a thief and rewritten by a clerk of the ninth or tenth century with the form Leidradus.

Leidrat's successor Agobard gave another important MS., the leading MS. of Tertullian (*Cod. Agobardinus*, Paris, B.N. *lat.* 1622), to the same church, with the inscription: Liber oblatus ad altare sancti stephani ex uoto agobardi episcopi. This inscription does not imply necessarily that the book was given during Agobard's lifetime.

There were three churches—Holy Cross, S. Stephen, S. John Baptist—standing side by side. Probably the phrases in both dedications imply no more than storage of the books in the Library.

The contents of Leidrat's MS. are: (1) Porphyry's Introduction; (2) a translation of the Categories of Aristotle attributed to S. Augustine, followed by some verses of Alcuin; (3) fragments of a treatise on Dialectic; (4) the treatise of Apuleius on the categorical syllogism; (5) the commentaries of Boethius on Aristotle's treatise *de Interpretatione;* (6) the *de dignitate humanae conditionis* attributed to S. Ambrose[1]; (7) a collection of creeds including the first Nicene Creed, the Faiths of S. Ambrose, S. Gregory the Great, S. Gregory of Neocaesarea, S. Jerome (= the Creed of Pelagius). A paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer follows, then an introduction to the Psalter, including quotations from Cassiodorus, Damasus, Jerome, Isidore, and Augustine.

M. Delisle suggested that the collection of creeds was prepared for Leidrat's journey to Spain in 798, when he was combating the heresy of Adoptianism. But there were no phrases even in the *Quicumque* which directly combated this revival of Nestorianism. It seems more probable that the collection was the fruit of the general impulse given to historical research and theological studies by the influence of Charles the Great.

We find similar collections in other MSS. of the period, at Leyden (*Cod. lat.* xvii, 67, F., *saec.* viii, ix),[2] and at Karlsruhe (*Cod. Augiensis*, xviii, *saec.* ix *in.*). There is one of a later date at Paris (B.N. lat. 2341, *saec.* x).

But it is of more importance to note that exactly the same collection of creeds in the same order, together with most of the extracts which follow in Leidrat's MS., actually form the Introduction to the famous Golden Psalter at Vienna (*Cod.* 1861),[3] which was written by command of a King Charles for a Pope Hadrian. Dr. Traube had no doubt that this MS. belonged palaeographically to the time of Charles the Great. He intended[4] to write a dissertation on it in conjunction with two friends who were interested in it from the point of view of the history of Art. He connected it with a group of MSS., which he calls the Ada-Group, of which the best known, though not the best specimen, is the Trèves Ada-MS. He was not, however, able to decide where MSS. of this group were written.

I venture to suggest that Leidrat may have been instructed to prepare the collection for the Psalter which was designed by Charles for Pope Hadrian I., after whose death, in A.D. 795, the MS. seems to have been given to Queen Hildegard.[5]

In the Golden Psalter the *Quicumque* appears in what was, from this time forward, its usual place at the end of the Psalter, after the Canticles, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles'

[1] Migne, P. L., xvii, 1015.

[2] This collection includes the Confession of Faith of the 11th C. of Toledo (675), in which Adoptianism is excluded by the words: "Hic etiam Filius Dei natura est Filius non adoptione."

[3] I have also found the collection in a MS. at Brussels, Cod. 8656, *saec.* ix, where it is headed by the *Quicumque.*

[4] Letter of Nov. 20th, 1901.

[5] On its subsequent history, see Ommanney, *Dissertation*, p. 104.

Creed. We can trace such Psalters spreading throughout the ninth century from west to east of the Empire. There is the fine Psalter from the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Près (Paris, B.N. 13159) which was prepared on the eve of the coronation of Charles as Holy Roman Emperor. There are the Utrecht Psalter from the neighbourhood of Rheims, *c.* A.D. 830, the Psalters of Fulco of Rheims, of Charles the Bald, of Lothair, of Count Henry (at Troyes), and others at St. Gallen and Würzburg.

Leidrat's MS. by itself crushes the theory that the *Quicumque* was brought into its present form about A.D. 813, having existed previously in two separate portions. We may accept without question a quotation of the second clause made by Agobard, Leidrat's successor, as a quotation from the whole creed and not from the first portion only. Some years later Florus, a deacon of the Church of Lyons, wrote to an Abbot Hyldrad about the correction of the text of Psalters. He preferred to make a separate volume of the Hymns, Symbol, Lord's Prayer, Faith (= *Quicumque*), calendar and prayers, which he found included in Psalters. Also in a letter which he wrote in the name of the Church of Lyons against the teaching of John the Scot, he refers to "the Catholic Faith, the true faith of thinking about God which must be preserved whole and undefiled."

Thus it is no longer necessary to construct an elaborate argument[1] to prove that the assumption that Paulinus of Aquileia and Alcuin were silent regarding the *Quicumque* is indeed questionable. The parallels in their writings to the language of the creed are really quotations. But against the new Nestorianism of the Adoptianists as against the old Nestorianism of the fifth century its phrases needed sharpening.

In M. Delisle's words Leidrat's MS. has "a real value for palaeographical studies," and may "furnish elements of comparative criticism to determine the date of several MSS. of the beginning of the Carolingian period."[2]

## § 3.—Codex Petriburg. Q. I. 15.

This MS. is interesting from many points of view. In the first place it is one of the lost Corbie MSS. which have found their way to the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg in the collection of Peter Dubrowsky, who was an attaché of the Russian Embassy at Paris at the end of the eighteenth century. His name may be seen on *fol.* 63*v.* (Plate 19.)

Mabillon found it among the MSS. of the Benedictine House of St. Germain-des-Près, to which the Benedictines of Corbie had brought their treasures in 1638, most of them eventually finding their way to the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. He published an account of it with a facsimile of the first words of the *Quicumque ault* in his *De re diplomatica.*[3] Unfortunately he gave it two different numbers, 257 and 267, which has caused some confusion in histories of the *Quicumque.*[4]

The indefatigable zeal of Dr. Traube, who, upon my showing him the photograph, was at once able to identify it, has traced the history of the MS. a stage further. Though it belonged to Corbie it is not written in the old Corbie hand. In Traube's phrase the hand is

[1] *Cf.* my *The Athanasian Creed and its early Commen aries*, p. xlii.
[2] *Art. cit.*, p. 16.
[3] *Ed.* 1789, tom. i, p. 366.
[4] Thus Ommanney, *Diss. on Ath. Creed*, p. 97, quotes it as two separate MSS.

*insular* and probably Irish. Corbie had comparatively few *insular* MSS., but there are some five or six at Paris and St. Petersburg. The phrase is intended to mark the distinction between Irish and Anglo-Saxon hands and the Continental types. This MS. has marked individual characteristics, especially the formation of the letters *t* and *e*, and the double types of the latter. The type ſ = e is found in the Book of Durrow, the Book of Dimma, the marginal writing of the Boniface MS. 1 at Fulda, and Oxford Douce 140.

On *fol.* 72 are found *Aldhelmi enigmata ex diuersis rerum creaturis composita*. This led Dr. Traube to the suggestion that the MS. comes from the Irish Monastery of Péronne, which lay not far from Corbie. At the end of the seventh century there lived at Péronne an Irish monk Cellanus, who was a great admirer of Aldhelm, the Anglo-Saxon Abbot of Malmesbury (675–709), who was also Bishop of Sherborne (705–709). William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* has preserved a letter from Cellanus to Aldhelm with Aldhelm's reply.[1]

Cellanus was himself a writer of verses, which Dr. Traube found in a Florentine MS., *Cod. lat. plut.*, lxvi, 40, of the Laurentian Library. He notes that the Beneventine copyist found it difficult to read the contractions of the old Irish hand. Thus *s. crux* or *s̄ crux* = *sed crux* became *scrux*, *hĉ* became *hinc*, *p'* = *per* became *prae*, pſrſmit = peremit became *premit*.

It is possible, therefore, that Cellanus was the author of the strange acrostic *Johannis celsi rimans mysteria caeli* which follows the text of the *Quicumque* on *fol.* 63*b* of our MS. This acrostic, together with the riddles of Aldhelm and Aldhelm's work, *de uirginitate laudanda*, occur in another St. Petersburg MS. (F. xiv, 1) which comes from the Monastery of St. Riquier on the Somme, not far from Péronne and Corbie.

The Annals of Lorsch record the death of an Irish Abbot Cellanus in 706, who is probably to be identified with Cellanus of Péronne.

We may suppose that the MS. was written by an Irish monk of Péronne who wished to make the verses of Aldhelm known to his neighbours in Corbie, not long after the death of Cellanus. Dr. Traube notes that the contraction of *nostri* n̄i on *fol.* 63*a* is pre-Carolingian.

The text of the *Quicumque* does not call for any special remark. But it is interesting to note that Angilbert, Abbot of St. Riquier, which is not far from Péronne, recorded, about 814, that the faith of S. Athanasius was sung by his school in procession on Rogation Days with the Creeds and the Lord's Prayer.[2]

## § 4.—Codex Monacensis lat. 6298 (Fris. 98).

The MS. is described in the Catalogue as "membr. in 2° saec. vii/viii, 114 fol., charactere anglo-saxonico binis columnis scriptus." Its size is $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. A modern note ascribes it to Corbinian, first Bishop of Freising (+ 730), but without authority, though it certainly comes from the Cathedral at Freising. On fol. 3° a certain Amalricus has added rhymes and a prayer in a hand of the eleventh century.

A facsimile of fol. 71*b* was published by Silvestre, *Paléographie IV, f.* 12, but it is much less accurate than a photograph.

[1] *Willelm. Malmesb.*, 5, 191 (188), *ed.* Hamilton, pp. 337 and 333.
[2] Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abb. de Saint Riquier*, pub. F. Lot, Paris, 1894.

The MS. contains a collection of sermons which were probably made by Caesarius of Arles, beginning with a preface *Prologus siue humilis suggestio*, which is certainly from his pen. It is immediately followed by the *Quicumque* without a title. The text contains many erasures, but does not confirm the argument that the text of the creed was still in a transitional state. The MS. agrees in one unimportant variant with the Profession of Denebert, Bishop-elect of Worcester, A.D. 798, against all other MSS., clause 5 enim est. It probably represents the complete text from which he quoted such clauses as seemed necessary.[1]

From another point of view the MS. is interesting as presenting the creed at the beginning of a collection of the sermons of Caesarius of Arles, to whom, as Dom Morin has shown, the authorship may with some plausibility be attributed.[2]

### § 5.—Codex Ambrosianus O 212 *sup.*, *saec.* vii/viii.

This MS. came to the Ambrosian Library at Milan from the Monastery of Bobbio. It is a thin quarto volume of 18 folios, 10 in. × 7½ in. It is written in an Irish hand, to be compared with the script of the Antiphonary of Bangor. In the opinion of Dr. Ceriani, the Librarian, both MSS. were probably written about the same time, *i.e.*, the end of the seventh century. Dr. Traube does not say more than seventh or eighth century,[3] but I think that anyone who has carefully examined the MS., without prepossessions, will be well content to leave the date ± 700. In either case, it supplies a link to connect the later eighth century MSS. of the creed with the seventh century quotations.

The MS. contains (i), The Book of Ecclesiastical Dogmas written by Gennadius, (ii), the Faith of Bachiarius with a short prayer, (iii), the *Quicumque* without title, (iv), a sermon on the Ascension, (v), (in a slightly later eighth century hand) the Creed of Damasus under the title "The Faith of Jerome."[4]

The text of the *Quicumque* on fol. 14*r* is of the earlier type, but there are two variations, which have been supposed to point to a transitional form of text.

In cl. 22, after *procedens*, the words *patri et filio coaeternus est* are added. They occur, however, in the treatise of Gennadius, and twice in the Faith of Bachiarius, which precede the *Quicumque* in this MS., so it was very natural that the copyist should insert them. There is no reason whatever for the assumption that they must have been added after the rise of the controversy on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, *i.e.*, 757. Such teaching was familiar to theologians of the seventh century through the writings of Augustine,[5] and instances may be multiplied in which the phrase occurs, *e.g.*, Canon of the Third Council of Toledo.

In cl. 29 the words *ante saecula genitus* have been added by another hand. It is more probable that they were omitted through carelessness, like the words *sed patris et filii et spiritus sancti* of cl. 6, than that they were lacking in the original text. Swainson suggests

[1] Among recent discoveries of episcopal professions of faith which quote the *Quicumque* in part I may mention *Cod. Sessorianus* 52 (clauses 4–6, 15, 16, 20–22, 24, 31, 30); and *Cod. Gandavensis* saec. ix/x, which contains a sermon on the faith addressed to a newly elected bishop, found also in *Ordo Romanus* (ed. Hittorp, p. 74).

[2] *Rev. Bénédictine*, Oct., 1901.

[3] *Perrona Scottorum*, p. 500.

[4] The list of contents in a late hand on the first page omits the *Quicumque* and includes five other documents which were not to be found in the MS. even in the seventeenth century. *Vid.* Muratori. *Anecdota*, ii, 224.

[5] *de Trin.*, vi, 13; *de Civ. Dei*, xi, 24.

that they were added "by someone who, in his love for antithesis, lost sight of the original meaning."[1] But the antithesis in question was almost a commonplace in the theology of the fifth century,[2] so that there is no reason to doubt that they had a definite and satisfactory meaning in the mind of the author. It is true that in the Trèves fragment they have been rewritten over an erasure, but this is part of a sermon in which the writer allowed himself liberties in dealing with the text, and must not be accepted as presenting the earliest text. In *Cod. Monacensis lat.* 6298 the words are missing, but so are the words which follow *et homo est ex substantia matris*, obviously by mere oversight of the copyist.

## § 6.—Conclusions.

The conclusions which may be drawn from these texts are of two kinds, textual and historical. Without attempting to give a complete *apparatus criticus* I will print the text of the creed and add some notes on those doubtful readings, not many in number, on which these MSS. throw light, using the following symbols—*Cod. Ambrosianus* A; Leidrat's MS. $L_4$; *Cod. lat. Monacensis* $M_1$; *Cod. Petriburg.* C;—these being the symbols used in my *Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 189 ff.

1 2 Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem, quam nisi quisque
integram inviolatamque servaverit absque dubio in aeternum peribit.
3 Fides autem catholica haec est ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur:
4 5 neque confundentes personas neque substantiam separantes. Alia est enim persona patris
6 alia Filii alia Spiritus Sancti, sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas, aequalis
gloria, coaeterna majestas.
7 8 Qualis Pater talis Filius talis et Spiritus Sanctus. Increatus Pater increatus Filius increatus
9 10 et Spiritus Sanctus. Immensus Pater immensus Filius immensus et Spiritus Sanctus. Aeternus
11 Pater aeternus Filius aeternus et Spiritus Sanctus, et tamen non tres aeterni sed unus
12 aeternus: sicut non tres increati nec tres immensi sed unus increatus et unus immensus.
13 14 Similiter omnipotens Pater omnipotens Filius omnipotens et Spiritus Sanctus, et tamen non
tres omnipotentes sed unus omnipotens.
15 16 Ita Deus Pater Deus Filius Deus et Spiritus Sanctus, et tamen non tres Dii sed unus est
17 18 Deus. Ita Dominus Pater Dominus Filius Dominus et Spiritus Sanctus, et tamen non tres
19 Domini sed unus est Dominus. Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam et Deum
et Dominum confiteri christiana veritate compellimur ita tres Deos aut Dominos dicere catholica
religione prohibemur.
20 21 Pater a nullo est factus nec creatus nec genitus. Filius a Patre solo est non factus nec creatus
22 sed genitus. Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus nec creatus nec genitus sed
23 procedens. Unus ergo Pater non tres Patres, unus Filius non tres Filii, unus Spiritus
24 Sanctus non tres Spiritus Sancti. Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil majus
25 aut minus, sed totae tres personae coaeternae sibi sunt et coaequales: ita ut per omnia sicut
jam supradictum est et Trinitas in Unitate et Unitas in Trinitate veneranda sit.
26 27 Qui vult ergo salvus esse ita de Trinitate sentiat, sed necessarium est ad aeternam salutem ut
incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credat.
28 Est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confiteamur quia Dominus noster Jesus Christus Dei
29 Filius et Deus pariter et homo est. Deus est ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitus et

[1] *Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 321.
[2] Aug. *Enchiridion*, 35; Vincentius, *Commonitorium*, 19.

30 homo est ex substantia matris in saeculo natus. Perfectus Deus perfectus homo ex anima
31 rationali et humana carne subsistens. Aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patri
32 secundum humanitatem. Qui licet Deus sit et homo non duo tamen sed unus est Christus.
33 34 Unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carne sed adsumptione humanitatis in Deo. Unus
35 omnino non confusione substantiae sed unitate personae. Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro
36 unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus: qui passus est pro salute nostra,
37 descendit ad inferos, resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad caelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris: inde
38 venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos, ad cujus adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum
39 corporibus suis et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem. Et qui bona egerunt ibunt in
vitam aeternam, qui mala in ignem aeternum.
40 Haec est fides catholica quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit salvus esse non
poterit.

The variations are few in number and unimportant in character.

In cl. 7 *om* et $L_4$ *corr;* and in 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 17 *om* et $CL_4$ *corr.* There can be little question that $AM_1$ preserve the older reading, which is the reading of the earliest commentaries.

In cl. 22 $ACL_4M_1$ preserve the more rhythmical and probably correct ending génitus sed procédens (*cursus uelox*).

In cl. 25 $L_4$ has what is certainly the later reading > Unitas in Trinitate et Trinitas in Unitate. In cl. 28 *om* pariter $L_4$. All the MSS. taken together are almost equally divided, but in many of those which originally contained *pariter* it has been erased. This shows that a strong feeling existed against it in the ninth century. Certainly the rhythm *Déus et hómo* (*cursus planus*) is broken by it, and this would be felt to be an objection at the time when the creed was finding its way into Psalters as a canticle, since the old plain song was founded on the *Cursus Leoninus*. But in its earlier use as an Instruction the inequality of the rhythm would be less noticed, and the word was probably intended to sharpen the sentence against some form of Nestorian error. This view of its history is confirmed by the fact that it is found in the Trèves fragment, and in the exposition of the Fortunatus Commentary, although the commentator does not quote it in his text.

In cl. 33 $BCM_1$ have the readings carne . . . Deo with the great majority of early MSS. and the earliest commentaries. $L_4$ has carnem . . . Deo with the Golden Psalter at Vienna. Waterland's argument that accusatives *carnem* . . . *Deum* have been changed into ablatives to confute Eutychian error still has weight. The balance of preference for this reading will turn upon the opinion held respecting the internal evidence, whether the creed is ascribed to Apollinarian or later times, into which I cannot enter.

The cl. 36 ad inferos $BLM_1$, ad infernus C, presents a case in which the reading has probably been affected by the current reading of the Apostles' Creed, which had *inferna* in earlier forms and *inferos* in later. The evidence of the commentaries confirms the opinion that *inferna* is the best reading, and it was in the Creed of Caesarius of Arles. We find *inferos* in the Creed of the Bangor Antiphonary as in Cod. Bernensis N. 645, where it is probably due to Celtic influence. This may account for the reading of B. The reading *ad inferos* does not seem to have found its way into Gallican Creeds before A.D. 600, and became common about a century later.

The readings *Dei* and *omnipotentis* in verse 37 found in $L_4M_1$ are plainly insertions from the Apostles' Creed in which they become common after 500.

I do not think that the following facsimiles throw much fresh light on the vexed question of authorship. Dom Morin's suggestion that Caesarius of Arles is the most probable author finds support in the Munich MS., in which the creed follows the prologue written by Caesarius. It is now beyond question that Caesarius knew and used the creed, and it is significant that he was in the habit of quoting great names at the head of his treatises as authorities for his teaching. This would account for the title *Fides s. Athanasii*, which does not, however, occur in the Munich MS. For those who are still impressed by Waterland's argument that the creed belongs to Apollinarian times, to the decade 420–430 which preceded the condemnation of Nestorian errors, it is open to argue that Caesarius may have received the creed from Lerins, and assimilated it so thoroughly that its phrases are woven into the ordinary texture of his thought. The theory that the creed was written by some earlier writer of the School of Lerins, whether Hilary of Arles or the first Abbot Honoratus, fits in far better with the close parallels in the *Commonitorium* of Vincentius and the probable quotation by Avitus of Vienne, who as a rival of Caesarius was not likely to set much store by any composition of his.

The trend of evidence in these early MSS. does confirm another historical conclusion, that the early use of the creed was rather as an instruction on the faith than a canticle. Leidrat's inclusion of it in a Psalter, together with revived interest in Church music, which the schools of Charles the Great began at that time to foster, leads directly to the use in the Office of Prime. For further information I must refer my readers to my *Introduction to the Creeds*.[1]

[1] London (Methuen), 1899.

# PALAEOGRAPHICAL NOTES BY THE LATE DR. LUDWIG TRAUBE.

[These Notes of Dr. Traube were found ready for press among the papers which he left at his decease, and are printed by the desire of his representatives.—Paul Lehmann.]

## I. FACSIMILES OF THE APOSTLES' CREED.

### § 1.—Introduction.

The palaeographical notes which I have added to the plates here presented should be regarded from the following standpoint. The material was collected by my respected friend, the Rev. A. E. Burn, in connection with his great and uninterrupted work on the oldest Christian symbols, but no special attention was given to palaeographical points. On the other hand, it was my peculiar province to add palaeographical notes to the collected facsimiles without regard to their liturgical contents, or, I might better say, to add such notes as are connected in a broad sense with palaeography. Though I had some years ago expressed myself ready for this work, I had the opportunity of using only the Munich and Verona MSS. as a means of testing and correcting by personal observation the opinions which I had of necessity based on photographs, printed descriptions, and lists of abbreviations made *ad hoc*. The other MSS. to which I had previously had access I studied without having yet in view a definite palaeographical work.

It need hardly be said that I shall cite liturgical works only in special cases. In general I presuppose an acquaintance with them.

For the above-mentioned facsimiles and descriptions I am indebted not only to A. E. Burn but also to the following friends and helpers:—C. U. Clark for help in Rome and Milan, Enander in Paris, P. Gabriel Meier in Einsiedeln, W. Riezler for help in St. Petersburg, C. H. Turner and P. August Merk, S.J., for help in Cologne and Milan.

### § 2.—Bern, Stadtbibliothek, 645, Fol. 72.

*Bibliography:* On the contents of the MS. *cf.*, in addition to Hagen's *Catalogue*, Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, I, 564 and 674; Bratke, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1895, p. 153 *sqq.*; and A. E. Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*, London, 1899, p. 241.

The script of the manuscript I would designate as an intermediate step between Gallic half-uncial and minuscule. With this may be compared a number of French manuscripts, *e.g.*, Cambrai 624 (*Album Paléographique*, pl. 13), Paris Nouv. Acq. 1597 (Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, pl. 5, 1, Chatelain, *Scriptura Uncialis*, tab. C), Paris Nouv. Acq. 1619 (Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, pl. 5, 2), Karlsruhe Aug. CCLIII, St. Petersburg F.I. 5, F.I. 6, O.I. 4. All these manuscripts originated in the seventh and eighth centuries. Their similarity, however, to the

Bernensis is nowhere striking. The St. Petersburg MSS., originally from Corbie, and Paris Nouv. Acq. 1619, have more the peculiar character of the half-uncial. (The Bernensis, however, shows on other pages some half-uncial and uncial forms, for example, the *g*, which do not appear on fol. 72.) The Karlsruhe MS., formerly in Reichenau, has more cursive elements. The MS. Paris Nouv. Acq. 1597, which belonged to the cloister of St. Benedict at Fleury, shows the closest resemblance, but there are yet individual differences, for example, in the sign for *m* (in the Floriacensis ~ and ÷, in the Bernensis only —), which are not to be mistaken. One would be inclined to place the Bern MS., if possible, even before the eighth century, or, at the latest, at the beginning of the eighth century. Still, the system of abbreviations, incomplete it is true, but also in some respects developed, induces me to assign as late a date as the middle of the eighth century; for example, fol. 57$^{v}$ *dn̄s n̄r ih̄s xp̄s* but on the same page also *dn̄m n̄r ih̄m xp̄m;* on fol. 53 is again written correctly *di. nr̄i.* See Traube, *Perrona Scottorum*, *Sitzungsberichte der bayer. Akademie*, 1900, p. 521 [and *Nomina Sacra*, p. 229]. Also on the page here presented *ih̄um* is put falsely for *ih̄m* (the writer wished, besides, to write originally *xp̄m ih̄m* in reverse order; likewise, line 2, *filium* seems corrected from *filius*). Quite striking, on fol. 57$^{v}$, is *p̄rp̄t* for *propter*, which might be explained as a confusion with the legitimate Spanish form *p̄ptr*; likewise the following *p̄sc̄lis* for *paschalis* is formed in the Spanish manner. Still, in these places, which are a part of the Cyclus Paschalis of Victorius Aquitanus, the South-French original is probably reflected. This may also be true of the few cases where *u*, not at the end of the line, but within the line, is designated by the cursive *v*, written above, *e.g.*, fol. 59 *q$^{v}$od aliq$^{v}$ociens*. *Episcopus* (*ep̄s* etc.) and Israel (*is̄rl*) are treated regularly.

### § 3. Paris lat. 13246, Fol. 88. Sacramentarium Gallicanum.

*Bibliography:* The MS. is completely described by Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits* III, 224 [and since Traube's death, by Dom A. Wilmart in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, edited by Dom F. Cabrol, fasc. xv. col. 941 *sqq.*].

*Facsimiles:* L. Delisle, *loc. cit.*, enumerates what he has before him; the small engraving which Mabillon published in the *Musaeum Italicum*, and the later facsimiles of these few lines. Delisle himself gives again some lines on pl. XV, 6 and 7, and pl. XVII, 6. [Four pages are reproduced by Dom A. Wilmart, *loc. cit.*]

In the year 1681 Mabillon had already published his chief work. Not until 1685 did he undertake the journey to Italy, which was far too late and far too short for real scientific benefit. On the way home he spent three days at the monastery of Bobbio, which had long ceased to have its best MSS. Before him lay, as he tells later, only *magni nominis umbra*. Still he borrowed, among other things, and thus indirectly secured for the home of scientific palaeography, *codicem Liturgiae Gallicanae optimae notae litteris maiusculis exaratum*[1]: this MS. is now 13246 of the National Library in Paris.

There is, therefore, no possible doubt of the provenance of our MS. If its script corresponded only in some measure to the character of Bobbio, which indeed changes and

[1] *Musaeum Italicum*, Paris, 1724, T. i, pag. 217.

often varies, but is, on the whole, well known,—did provenance and origin thus seem to coincide, any further word would be superfluous.[1] But such is not the case; the MS.—not only the actual original (the Sacramentarium Gallicanum with the Creed) but the many contemporaneous or later appendices (which Delisle presents exactly)—is so uncalligraphically written, and occupies so exceptional a position that it demands investigation and discussion.

In the first place, since palaeography gives only negative information and leads us away from Bobbio, we must observe the "culture-influences" which appear in the MS., and which might, perhaps, point to another definite centre.

First, there are without question strong SPANISH SYMPTOMS. For example, the word-form *Romensis*,[2] *cf.* Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, p. 129 (= *Abhandlungen der Bayer. Akademie*, XXI, iii, 727), which passed over from Spain to France, and is found also, *e.g.*, in Rome Reg. lat. 317 and Gotha membr. I, 85. A part of the appendices, fol. 294, *de tempore nativitatis Christi*, appears again in a Spanish MS. of *saec.* viii, now Albi 29, *cf.* Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, III, 728. The so-called *Ioca Monachorum*, again in the appendices, have also a distant connection with Spain; *cf.* Omont, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XLIV, 58. Nevertheless, script (together with the abbreviations) and orthography throughout the MS. are anything but Spanish. We find everywhere the type *nr̄* with some cases of the type *nr̄i*, but nowhere the Spanish forms of *noster*; for *Israel* is written *isrl̄*, not *srl̄* or one of the other Spanish forms; *qnm̄* and *sclm̄*, which appear, are indeed originally Spanish formations, but soon became fairly wide-spread; *p̱* stands in the actual MS. for *per*, and likewise, here and there, *p̱* for *pro*; only in the appendices does *p̱* stand also for *per*, but this abbreviation is not only Spanish, but also early French.

More significant in our MS. than the Spanish influences are the IRISH. The liturgists are now agreed on this point.[3] To their arguments may be added a reference to the orthography that appears occasionally in the appendices: *concesione*, *posedet*, *preceset* (= *praecessit*), *pasionem*, *mesam* (= *missam*). Such forms which, it is true, remind us again of Spain, we are accustomed to regard in general as Irish.

Indications thus seem to point back to Bobbio. Correspondingly significant for ITALY, and likewise for BOBBIO, is the mention of St. Eugenia (*Eogenia* in Mabillon, I, 2, pp. 281 and 289). Formerly, in the *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti* (p. 103 = 701), I had declared that the matter still stood as in the time of Mabillon: the cult of Eugenia could not be fully localized. In the meantime, Ebner (*Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Missale Romanum*, Freiburg, 1896, p. 424) found two unquestionably Italian MSS. with an invocation to Eugenia: Rome Sess. CXXXVI, saec. xi (from Como), and Florence Laur. Aed., CXI, saec. x (from Florence). To these MSS., it is true, is opposed the Regula Magistri (*cf.* *Textgeschichte*, *loc. cit.*). Here also Sancta Eugenia appears, though neither the rule itself nor the MSS. of the rule can be from Italy.[4]

[1] I consider Dom Cagin's assumption that the contents of the MS. point directly to Bobbio disproved by Duchesne, Lejay and Morin.

[2] I have since found many other examples that prove that *Romensis* was the Spanish form for *Romanus*, and that the form spread from Spain into Gaul. Martène's Murbach MS., which contains the *Breviarium ecclesiae ordinis Rominsae*, I have, in the meantime, found in Gotha.

[3] *Cf.* Bannister, *Journal of Theological Studies*, V (1903), 54.

[4] The same is true of the Sacramentarium of Gellone, in which *Eogenia* is likewise invoked.

If, however, we wished to accept the two Italian MSS. instead of the Regula Magistri, the script is decidedly against a localization in Italy; it has absolutely none of the Bobbio characteristics. In Bobbio, Irish and Italian culture meet, and something in the script and the abbreviations of the Codices Bobienses indicates the product of this double stream. We see either Italian script with insular abbreviations, or insular script with Italian abbreviations, often both together in the same MS. But where such crossing has not taken place, one of the two elements, the insular or the Italian, is wont to be so strongly and clearly developed that there can be no doubt of the origin of the MS. In regard to Parisinus 13246, however, the script of the MS. itself is uncial without Irish influence, in the appendices uncial mixed with minuscule, likewise without any insular note. There are no insular abbreviations.

If we seek, however, another centre besides Bobbio, where Irish influence could affect the writer, and where the script of the codex would be more appropriate, our thoughts turn from Italy to Gaul, from Bobbio to Luxeuil. Mabillon had long before thought of Luxeuil, but not exactly from palaeographical reasons. We also will speak guardedly. Columban's monastery in France is distinguished from his Italian in that the Irish element has had no effect whatever on the character of the script, which remains Gallic. Script and abbreviations in Paris 13246 are just as possible for Luxeuil as they are impossible for Bobbio. To be sure I could not argue in defence of a particular similarity. But the MS. is older than the other known examples from Luxeuil. In the language the above-mentioned Irish peculiarity of the appendices might well be significant of Luxeuil. Other methods of spelling, *e.g.*, the above-mentioned *Eogenia*, and *seo*, find corresponding types in the tradition of many Gallic MSS. (*cf.* Schuchardt, *Vokalismus*, II, 163; *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 114, adn. 3). The often very vulgar language of the appendices seemed to the linguists to point at least more to France than to Italy; *cf.* P. Meyer, *Romania*, I (1872), 489, Boucherie, *Revue des Langues Romanes*, V (1874), 103, and the latter in *Mélanges Latins et Bas-Latins*, Montpellier, 1875. Still, these are general remarks that speak only partly for France as opposed to Italy. Of special arguments that might be adduced in favour of Luxeuil, with the exception of the Irish peculiarities and the close relations between Bobbio and Luxeuil, only the following is of value. The name *Bertulfus*, which appears, fol. 197$^{v}$, on the margin of Parisinus (just as in other places: *Elderatus*, *Manubertus*, *Dacolena*,[1] and *Bonolo*) was referred by Mabillon to the Abbot of Bobbio (+ 639). But Bertulfus came to Bobbio in the year 626 from Luxeuil. Accordingly, we might rather assume, if a connection exists, that Bertulfus brought the book with him to Bobbio. Still, this is a mere possibility. If we wish to restrict ourselves to the limits of probability we may say: the Parisinus is a work scarcely calligraphic, and difficult to localize and date; probably the MS. belongs to France as an example of the barbarous seventh century. Irish influences, reflected in the contents and the orthography, might point to Luxeuil or to a centre which enjoyed conditions similar to those of this Irish monastery in France. If it be said with still greater caution: the MS. belonged to Bobbio, but was written by a scribe accustomed, not to the script of Bobbio, but to the French, the appendices could rightly be cited against the argument, since they also do not use the script of Bobbio.

[1] Förstemann mentions a Dacolenus from a document of Moissac, *a.* 680 (Pardessus, *Diplomata*, II, 185).

§ 4.—Rome Pal. lat. 493, fol. 16, 16$^{v}$, 17. So-called Missale Gallicanum Vetus.

*Bibliography:* On this MS., *cf.* Adalbert Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum*, Freiburg i.B., 1896, p. 246 (which includes previous literature on the subject). To this may be added the new edition of Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, Paris, 1898, p. 144, and the second volume of F. Kattenbusch, *Das Apostolische Symbol*, Leipzig, 1900, *passim.*

*Facsimiles:* I know only the engraving in Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venice, 1748, Vol. II, opposite p. 391. Ebner designates a facsimile on p. 430 as "the title page from Cod. Palat. 493," but this is incorrect. The facsimile corresponds rather to Rome Reg. 317, fol. 169$^{v}$.

Delisle (*Mémoires de l'Institut, Ac. des Inscriptions*, Vol. XXXII, p. 73) rightly says: "Ces cent six feuillets forment treize cahiers, dont les douze premiers sont les débris d'un ou de deux sacramentaires." In fact, apart from the appendix (fol. 100 *sqq.*), which does not belong to the original MS., three hands are to be distinguished. Of these, one is again so unlike the others, and the arrangement of this part of the MS. is so different that one is inclined to presuppose not only another hand but even another MS. To this belong the third quire (fol. 34–43), the fourth and fifth (fol. 19–33), the sixth to the twelfth (fol. 44–99); on all these pages the MS. has twenty lines. On the other hand, the first quire with sixteen lines (fol. 1–10) and the second with fourteen lines (fol. 11–18) resemble each other closely in script and initial ornamentation. The same variation in the number of lines occurs, moreover, in the closely related Rome Reg. lat. 317, where the first part has fourteen, the second part twenty lines, so that a conclusion based on such differences is far from certain.

Strictly within the limits of palaeography the elements for the criticism of the MS. are the following. The uncial, the occasional minuscule (fol. 10$^{v}$, line 3 from the end, *per dn̄m;* fol. 17 twice *cre<do>* by another hand), and the ornamentation are peculiar, and clearly hark back to what I have called the "School of Luxeuil." The appendix was written in a German centre, perhaps Murbach, in the ninth century. The entire MS. belonged later to the cloister of St. Nazarius in Lorsch.

There remains to be discussed the close relationship between Palat. lat. 493 and Reg. lat. 317. Both MSS. have often been compared palaeographically and in respect to contents. The connection is evidently close. To me Palatinus seems somewhat younger than Reginensis; it stands to Reginensis perhaps in the relation of a nephew. Further, Reginensis can be more exactly placed than Palatinus. It was written after 680 for the diocese of Autun. We may therefore, perhaps, say of Palatinus: it belongs to the School of Luxeuil, was written at the beginning of the eighth century, and came from Burgundy to Lorsch in the ninth century by way of one of the cloisters that had relations with Germany.

§ 5.—Paris lat. 12048, fol. 181 and 191$^{v}$. Sacramentarium and Martyrologium of Gellone.

*Bibliography:* Description in Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, III, 221 ff.; Delisle, *Mémoires de l'Institut*, Académie des Inscriptions, XXXII, 80. Further, on the origin, *cf.* Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti* 123 (= 721); Dom

Cagin in *Mélanges Cabrières*, Paris, 1899, I, 231 ff.; Dom Quentin, *Revue Bénédictine*, XX (1903), 370 f.

*Facsimiles:* Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, pl. XIV, 8. He adds also, *loc. cit*[1]., the older copies in the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, in Bastard (according to Delisle's numbering, pl. 49–61), in *Le Moyen Âge et la Renaissance*, and in the *Paléographie Universelle*, *cf.* also Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, I (Paris, 1905), 313 *sq.*

It is the custom to designate the script of this beautiful codex as Spanish (*écriture visi-gothique*). The authors of the *Nouveau Traité* were the first to do so; Silvestre, Delisle, Molinier (*Les Manuscrits et les Miniatures*, Paris, 1892, p. 99), Chatelain (*Introduction à la Lecture des Notes Tironiennes*, Paris, 1900, p. 120), Leprieur (in Michel's *Histoire de l'Art*, *loc. cit.*) and others have accepted the designation, but Delisle expresses himself in one place much more cautiously, and speaks of "Écriture demi-onciale qui se rattache à l'école visi-gothique" (*Mémoires*, *loc. cit.*, p. 81).

Further, there are peculiarities in the orthography which might be significant of Spain: *e.g.*, *hęradicare*, *hunum*, *dihutius*, *habysi* (= *abyssi*), but we meet such also in France.

The abbreviations remind us here and there of the Spanish. Thus *usrm* (= *uestrum*), *ms* (= *meus*), and *mo* (= *meo*). The letters also are coloured partly in Spanish fashion, especially the *g*. In general, however, many palaeographical considerations oppose the assumption of Spanish origin. The words *noster* and *uester* (with the exception of the above-mentioned form), *Israel*, *nomen*, *autem*, *per*, and *pro*, in the abbreviated forms used in our MS., have not Spanish, but French style. The whole MS., to judge from the script, belongs to the category of French MSS. of the transition period, cited above in explanation of the Bernensis.

The miniatures and ornaments (the "Buchschmuck," as we say) are very peculiar and have no exact parallels among pre-Carlovingian and Carlovingian MSS. Janitschek (*Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 69) assumes Syrian influences. That the Orient has had some effect on this kind of book-painting may certainly be asserted even by those who do not accept all Strzygowski's brilliant hypotheses. On the other hand, it is remarkable that the examples that may be adduced from extant Latin MSS. for comparison with the MS. of Gellone originated in Spanish territory. Is the MS. then perhaps more closely connected with Spain than we would believe? As early as the ninth century, as the later insertions show—Delisle enumerates them, p. 222—the MS. was in Gellone in the South-French diocese of Lodève, *i.e.*, within the sphere of Spanish influence. But just these additions and marginal notes, which are clearly distinguished from the script of the Sacramentarium and Martyrologium, and are plainly Carlovingian in character, prove that the connection of the MS. with Gellone was not established until the ninth century.

Fortunately, it is not necessary to stop at this rather negative information. In fact, Sollier has already noticed[2] that definite original notes in the text of the Martyrologium have special reference to the cloister Rebais in the diocese of Meaux. To these cases Dom Quentin has added still another, which proves that the MS. was written while Romanus was Bishop of Meaux. This settles the date, with considerable certainty, about the year 750.

[1] [*i.e.*, in the *Mém. de l'Institut*, xxxii, 80.]

[2] *Cf.* Traube, *loc. cit.*, p. 124.

To this period and this region correspond perfectly the stage of development of the abbreviations in the MS. We recognize this especially in *noster* and *uester*. The nominative *nr̄*[1], the declension follows the type *nr̄i*, forms of the type *nr̄ī* are rare.

To sum up, I would say: the MS. was written *ca. a.* 750 *for* and probably *in* the diocese of Meaux; the calligrapher or calligraphers who worked at it were perhaps influenced somewhat by Spanish teaching.

## § 6.—Cod. Einsidlensis 199, pp. 473 and 474. From the Dicta Abbatis Priminii.

*Bibliography:* For an exact description of the MSS. Einsiedeln 199 and Einsiedeln 281 *cf.* P. Gabriel Meier, in the *Catalogus Codicum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii Einsidlensis servantur*, Einsidlae, 1899, p. 155 *sqq.* and 257 *sqq.* [also L. Traube, *Sitzungsberichte der bayer. Akademie*, 1907, p. 71 *sqq.*].

*Facsimiles:* None yet published. [L. Traube, *l.c. tab.* I.]

Through familiarity with the treasures of his own home, and love for them, P. Gabriel Meier, Librarian of Einsiedeln, brought his investigations to so successful a conclusion that from the two Einsiedeln MSS. 199 and 281 the following old homiliary can be reconstructed :—

Quires I–X = 281, pp. 1–148.
,, X–XV = 199, pp. 431–526.
,, XVI (– XVII ?) = 281, pp. 149–178.

Still, it remains an open question whether these 16 or 17 quires, which are now separate but were probably connected in the ninth century, were from the first beginning intended for the same book. It is possible, though the hands change and one scribe seems later than the other or the others. Our selection belongs to the part that gives the impression of greatest age.

We see before us a script that was at home in a large district: in Chur, St. Gallen, Reichenau, in Murbach, in various Bavarian monasteries, from the closing years of the eighth century down to the first decades of the ninth.[2] Thus, appropriately, the MS. contains the *Dicta Priminii*, of which our own plate gives an example. It is easy to imagine that the script of the founder of monastic life in Reichenau and in Murbach was propagated in the type general in Alamannic land.

This is not the place to discuss in detail the peculiar type of this script and its origin. I may only briefly mention, what strikes the eye of every palaeographer, that it is the result of a many-sided movement; the minuscule developing in France, as it came under the influence of the School of Monte Cassino, which was likewise in a state of development, was forced in a peculiar calligraphic direction.

The homiliary reconstructed by P. Meier is older than the founding of the monastery at Einsiedeln, by which it has been preserved. Still, there are other MSS. in Einsiedeln that show the same type, *e.g.*, 157 *Gregorius in Ezechielem*, s. viii/ix; 199 pp. 257–430,

[1] The nominative forms *nst̄* and *ust̄* have also been given me (*cf. Perrona Scottorum*, p. 516). Since they do not appear in the copies and photographs to which I have access, I prefer to omit them for the present as uncertain. [*Cf. Nomina Sacra*, p. 224.]

[2] *Cf.* Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, p. 54 (= 652) and 66 (= 664).

*Canones*, s. ix; 357 Rufinus *Historia ecclesiastica*, s. viii/ix. It might be thought that these MSS. came directly, perhaps from Reichenau, to Einsiedeln, but an interpolation on p. 452 of Codex 199 indicates a different course.

On this page, between 14 lines of the text, which contains a pseudo-Augustinian sermon, is written, in early twelfth-century letters, an extremely valuable interlinear version of an evident Romance dialect. P. Meier considers it related to the Spanish. I, however, am convinced that we have here the oldest example of a Rhaeto-Romanic branch, and Gustav Gröber informs me, that the Romanic has the colour of the Romontsch dialect of the Upper Rhine Valley. I, therefore, believe—and have already so indicated in *Perrona Scottorum* (*Sitzungsberichte der bayer. Akademie*, 1900, p. 514)—that the MS. came to Einsiedeln from Rhaetian territory. It may also have been written there.

With this Rhaetian origin I have, *loc. cit.*, also connected a peculiarity in the abbreviations of the homiliary. Through Pater Meier's friendly help I can now give further information on the subject. The parts of MSS. 199 and 281 combined by him show almost everywhere the type *nr̄*, etc., for *nostri*, etc. To this belongs the nominative *nr̄* (= *noster*). Of forms of the type *nr̄i* there appears only once *nr̄m̄*. It is strange that on pp. 432, 445, 473, 474 (*cf.* our plate) and 481 of Codex 199, and on p. 13 of Codex 281, the pure Spanish form *nsm̄*, instead of *nm̄* or *nr̄m̄*, appears twice. Formerly I attributed these traces of Spanish formation to the school in which the homiliary was written. Now, however, on account of the rarity of the Spanish forms, which at that time I had not fully studied, it seems more probable to assume that they came over from the original. They are lacking in the other homilies contained in Cod. 199 and 281; they are found only in the *Dicta Priminii*. Nothing is known of the origin of Priminius except that he came to Alamannia as *Peregrinus*. This is often interpreted that he came from Ireland or England. May I express the supposition that Priminius was perhaps a Spaniard, that the strange name is a transformation of *Pimenius* (= Ποιμένιος) through the influence of *Primus* and *Primigenius*?

The orthography of the MS., the language in general of the individual parts, are very unequal; *cf.* Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, I. (Christiania, 1883), p. VIII *sqq.*, p. 151 *sqq.*, p. 215 *sqq.*; the same, *Eine Augustin fälschlich beigelegte Homilia de Sacrilegiis* (Christiania, 1886), p. 52 *sqq.* One meets for the most part Gallic or general Romance peculiarities. With regard to exclusively Spanish origin I can prove nothing with certainty; *ressurgere* and *ressurrectio*, as always in the *Dicta Priminii*, can be Spanish as well as Irish.

## II. FACSIMILES OF THE NICENE CREED.

### § 1.—Rome Vatic. Lat. 1322, Canones.

*Bibliography:* Bethmann, *Archiv d. Gesellschaft f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, xii, 224; Maassen, *Geschichte d. Quellen . . . des canonischen Rechts*, I, 737, 745; *Spicilegium Casinense* (ed. Amelli), tom. I (a. 1888), p. xxx.

*Facsimiles:* *Leonis Magni opera* ed. Cacciari II (a. 1755) p. lxv; *Spicilegium Casinense*, tab. III.

The MS. consists of two parts: fol. 1–24, *saec.* ix; fol. 25–285, *saec.* vi/vii. It comes from Verona. This is proved not only by the entry in a fifteenth-century hand on fol. 25 *de Verona*, and the Veronese official documents which are appended to it, to which must be added the connection with the collection of the MS. of Novara, which at least is in favour of tracing it to a home in North Italy, but also by the handwriting. The first part is a minuscule of a type that is known to us in many MSS. in Verona, and may, perhaps, be brought into connection with the Veronese Archdeacon Pacificus (+844). As Pacificus was in touch with West Frankish scholars (*e.g.*, Hildemarus of Corbie) so this handwriting, which has deviated from the old Italian character, may well have been derived from France.

But the handwriting of the second part, which lies before us, may also belong to Verona. It is half uncial, but no longer the pure hand of the fifth and sixth centuries, rather of the second Italian stage. An eye accustomed to the older half uncial recognizes the difference at once, and does not need that attention should be drawn to the separate faults in style (*e.g.*, the uncial ∂ instead of the half uncial d).[1] The abbreviations tell their tale most plainly here—peccatorγ, mortuorγ, uerγ, iterγ (where *r* struck through by a slanting stroke means *rum*). These abbreviations as they appear here (and on fol. 153ᵛ and 154) are not known in the older half uncial. But quite similar handwriting with such abbreviations is to be found in the half uncial writing of Verona liii (51), Facundus *de tribus capitulis* and *contra Mucianum*, and lix (57), *Canones*.

Verona liii (51), Verona lix (57), Vatic. lat. 1322, judging by their contents, cannot have been written before the end of the sixth century. The composition of the treatise of Facundus against Mucianus is ascribed to about A.D. 571. Here we must leave out of the question the fact that in Verona liii (51) *fol.* 288, *scae mm* stands by the name of the author which Reifferscheid (*Bibliotheca patrum latt. Italica*, I, 55) certainly rightly interprets as *sanctae memoriae*, because a similar addition is occasionally found relating to living authors. Still Verona liii (51) is of course not the original.

The Canons in Verona lix (57) include, as Maassen (*loc. cit.* pag. 763) points out, as the latest portion of their contents the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon in the edition of Rusticus. The MS. must therefore have come into existence after A.D. 550. The same remark holds good of Vatic. lat. 1322 since the MS. in its half uncial portion also contained the Canons of the Council of Chalcedon in the edition of Rusticus.

Verona lix (57) and Vatic. lat. 1322 are probably the oldest MSS. of the work of Rusticus, but most certainly neither the one nor the other is the ancestor of our tradition, they are rather both of them off-shoots, since they leave out the observations of Rusticus, which would otherwise have been inserted.

The palaeographer is strangely affected by the occurrence of capitals among the half-uncial in Vatic. lat. 1322, the more so as these capitals are of a very bad style and suggest a later date. The copyist uses them not only in titles but also for beginnings and to give emphasis. Apart from fol. 153ᵛ and 154, *e.g.*, on fol. 34, which page begins thus: temptant adsurgere quae supra ho/minem sunt cogitamus (the rest of the line free, up to this point in half uncials)/ CONFITEMUR ETENIM DNM NM IHM XPM FILIUM DI UNIGENITUM · DM PERFECTUM/ et hominem perfectum (etc., again in half uncials).

[1] On the other hand the uncial ϛ instead of the half uncial z̄, which is next noticed, is found also in older half uncial MSS.

§ 2.—Toulouse 364 (I 63), fol. 4, 4$^{v}$, 104, 104$^{v}$.

*Bibliography: cf. Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements* (old series), VII, 203, *sqq.*; Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen des canonischen Rechts*, I, 592 (on the Albi MS.); and especially C. H. Turner, *Journal of Theological Studies*, II (1901), 266–273.

*Facsimile:* An unsatisfactory facsimile is found in F. Schulte, *Iter Gallicum*, *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Phil.-hist. Classe, LIX (1868), 422, Facsimile V.

That we do not, in the case of this MS., have to satisfy ourselves with the general statement: "Uncials of the period of decline," is due only to a brilliant discovery of C. H. Turner.

Turner recognized that Toulouse 364 (= T) and Paris lat. 8901 (= P) are original parts of one and the same great MS. of canons. But he recognized further that, in a much later MS., Albi 2 (= A), we possess a copy of the original MS., which was made when the latter had not yet been divided. From A we see also what parts of the original MS. no longer exist in the original; for A = T + P + X. This X, which exists in A, even though only in a ninth century copy, helps us, among other things, to so exact a dating and localization of T and P, that we are scarcely more fortunate in any other MS. of the same epoch.

On fol. 177$^{v}$ of Albi 2 we have: Ego Perpetuus quamuis indignus presbyter/iussus a domino meo Didone urbis Albi/gensium episcopum (epm̄. *cod.*) hunc librum canonum/scripsi. Post incendium civitatis ip/sius hic liber recuperatus (re *in loco raso*, peratus *superscr. cod.*) fuit deo auxiliante (auxiliant̄ *cod.*)/ sub die VIII (VIII *superscr. cod.*) Kl. Ag. ann. 1111 regnante (regnant̄ *cod.*) domini nostri Childerici reg.

This subscription, as had already been seen, cannot refer to the later MS. A; it must refer, as Turner was the first to establish, to the original of A, therefore to T and P. The Toulouse MS. was accordingly written by a presbyter Perpetuus at the command of Bishop Dido of Albi, of whom we unfortunately know nothing further. As far as *scripsi*, Perpetuus himself is the author of the statement. The words that follow were added in the original of A by a later hand, probably in cursive writing. They state that the MS. (the *Liber Canonum*, as Perpetuus had said), after the burning of the town Albi, of which event we hear only in this *subscriptio*, was recovered July 25, 666 or 667.[1]

Further, we have also a limit on the other side. A contains a list of popes,[2] which is lacking in T and P. This also must have been in the original of the *Liber Canonum*. While, in the case of the other popes, the years, months and days of each rule are given in the list, Gregorius (the Great) with whom the list ends, has, instead of the correct statement:

*Gregorius sed. an. XIII mens. II d. X*

the false and incomplete:

*Gregorius sed. an. LXV.*

[1] On these figures, supported by the dating of Krusch and Havet, *cf.* Duchesne, *Fastes Episcopaux*, II, 43, and Turner, *loc. cit.*, p. 272. To me it seems probable that the exact date indicates both the day of the fire and the day of the recovery of the library.

[2] *Cf.* Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 27; Mommsen, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, xxxix.

From this one may conclude—and Duchesne and Turner have correctly concluded—that the *Liber Canonum* was written after Pope Gregory had come into power. With Turner we can now say: the MS. Toulouse 364 was written at Albi, near Toulouse, between the years *ca.* 600 and 666.

This placing agrees well with the style of the uncial and some words in cursive writing (P fol. 28 and 35) and with the method of abbreviation. Turner has already pointed out that the use of the compendium for *per*, in a form that is otherwise employed for *pro*, betrays the neighbourhood of Spain. Forms of the genitive plural, such as *eporm*, *diacorm*, *prbtrorm*, *scrm* can be similarly explained.

If on fol. 104 OMOYSION is marked by a stroke, we must remember that it was a general rule thus to distinguish Greek, and foreign words in general (*e.g.*, also Hebrew), from their Latin context.

# SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON COD. COLON. 212.

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*Bibliography:* Fr. Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande*, pp. 574–585; Wattenbach in Jaffé and Wattenbach, *Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Coloniensis codices manuscripti*, pp. 93–95; Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, p. xv.

*Facsimiles:* Zangemeister and Wattenbach, *Exempla codicum latinorum litteris maiusculis scriptorum* (Heidelberg, 1876), give three pages of this MS., plates 37 and 38 reproducing the whole papal catalogue—on which see below—and plate 44 part of the letter of pope John II to Caesarius of Arles and of the acts of the Council of Valence.

This MS. consists—apart from two guard-leaves (unpaged) at the beginning, and three at the end, of the MS.—of twenty-two gatherings or 167 leaves, and contains sixty-four documents. New commencements are made with the twelfth gathering (fol. 86*a*), with the fifteenth (fol. 108*a*), and with the nineteenth (fol. 136*a*); but the division of the contents does not suggest that these four parts were drawn from four different exemplars, and it is more likely that, as the work of copying progressed, it was shared between different scribes. The handwriting is semi-uncial throughout, and is attributed by Wattenbach and Maassen to the seventh century: in the list prefixed to *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Mon. Iur. Ant.*, I, p. xi, I followed their authority, but subsequent re-investigation of the palaeography of the MS. convinced me that its date could be fixed as not much later than the year 600 (*ib.* II, p. 34). Abbreviations by suspension are still common: $\bar{\text{N}}$ = *noster*, I have noticed once (at the end of a line, and therefore possibly to save space), and *epi*(*scopus*) *pre*(*s*)*bi*(*ter*) for the nominative singular occur occasionally, *ep*(*i*)*s*(*copus*) and *epis*(*copus*) for any case quite regularly. Final *m* is still, save at the end of the line, written in full. Ligatures are still frequent (*-on*, *-ons*, as well as *-us*, *-unt*, *-nt*), the more so that they are no longer confined, as in the earliest MSS., to the end of a line. That the MS. was copied from an exemplar written in the same semi-uncial style is perhaps suggested by the misreadings *urbicim* for *urbium* (fol. 86*b*) and *sperti* for *spem* (fol. 127*b*)—an uncial ꝺ could not easily be misread into *rti*: and a semi-uncial exemplar may be assumed to have been written in the sixth century.

The contents of the MS. are in part closely related to those of two other Gallic MSS., the Corbie MS. (Paris B.N., lat. 12097), written perhaps at Corbie itself, or if not in northern Gaul, in the second half of the sixth century, and the Toulouse MS. (see above, p. 31), written at Albi between 590 and 666: and in these common portions our MS. is nearer in text to its southern than to its northern relative. Moreover, the Cologne MS. preserves at least three pieces occurring at three separate points, which are absolutely unique—the Council of Nîmes,

A.D. 396 (No. VIII in the MS., fol. 30*b*), a letter of Cyprian, Bishop of Toulon in the first half of the sixth century, to Maximus of Geneva (No. XXXVIII, fol. 113*b*), and the Council of Marseilles, of A.D. 533 (No. L, fol. 130*b*): and these seem to direct us clearly to Provence as the home either of our MS. or of its immediate ancestor, if that ancestor was not very far removed from it in date.[1] For southern Gaul, too, speaks the occasional use of the Visigothic abbreviation ꝓ for *pro*: see Traube at the end of the preceding notice. But in any case our MS. was already in Cologne early in the ninth century, for the name of Hildebald, bishop from A.D. 785 to 819, is found written on the guard-leaf. Hildebald was a great collector of MSS. and procured them from places even as distant as Rome, so that it is not impossible that our MS. was one of those which owe to him their present place on the library shelves of the metropolitan church of St. Peter of Cologne.

Something must, however, also be said about the evidence of the guard-leaves, especially as it has been mis-stated or misinterpreted in all modern descriptions of the MS. Of the two leaves that precede the main collection, the first has only the Hildebald inscription just mentioned; the second is filled with a catalogue of the contents of the MS. written in the same or a contemporary hand with the MS. itself. The leaves that follow the collection contain, however, three distinct documents: (i) on fol. 168*a*, a set of references to various canons of councils, the canon being identified in each case by the number of a quaternion—℟ *In cann̄ apost̄ tit̄ xxvii q̄. i*, and so on; (ii) on foll. 168*b*, 169*a*, a catalogue of popes, carried down in the original uncial hand to Agapetus (A.D. 535–536), and continued in a semi-uncial hand (such as that of the body of the MS.) down to Gregory (590–604); (iii) on fol. 169*b*, the latter part of the preface to the second edition of Dionysius Exiguus' Collection of Canons.

Now of these three pieces the first and third admit of a quite certain explanation, and it will be well therefore to dispose of them before attacking the problem of the papal catalogue. The list on fol. 168*a* is nothing more nor less than a list of points to which some very early reader of our MS. wished to call attention; the quaternions referred to are the quaternions of our MS., and the same sign which is prefixed to each reference on fol. 168*a* will be found at the appropriate place in the body of the MS., in the margin opposite the passage to which attention is intended to be called. This annotator is almost or quite contemporary with the original scribe. Not much later—within the limits of the seventh century—falls the insertion of the Dionysian matter on fol. 169*b*, by some reader who found that the Dionysian preface with which the main collection opens on fol. 1*a* was different, or at least had a different conclusion, from that with which he was himself familiar. In fact, what the MS. gives is the preface to the *first* edition of Dionysius (printed in Maassen, p. 960); what the corrector gives is the additional matter, distinctive of the preface to the *second* edition of Dionysius (*ib.* p. 961), and he has connected his new matter with the old by adding the sign Φ, both at the top left hand margin of fol. 169*b*, and also between the words *disciplina* and *seruata*, five lines from the bottom of fol. 1*a*. No doubt it was the same seventh century corrector, who in various passages of the Nicene canons has substituted the phraseology of the second edition

[1] The title and colophon of the canons of the Council of Orleans of A.D. 511 (fol. 37)—"Incipiunt canones Aurelianenses de Francia," "Expliciunt canones Francisci"—points also to a scribe writing outside the Frankish dominions, and therefore away from Cologne.

of Dionysius for that of the Gallic version given by the original scribe (see *Eccl. Occid. Mon. Iur. Ant.*, I, p. 248).

Both these pieces then are seen to be intimately connected with the main body of the MS., and are of the nature of early *addenda* to it. The papal catalogue, which occurs on the two pages (foll. 168*b*, 169*a*) between these other pieces, was clearly in its present place as part of our MS. before the new Dionysian matter was inserted after it on fol. 169*b*, that is to say, before the end of the seventh century; can we take its history any further back? Our authorities—Maassen, Wattenbach, Duchesne—all agree in saying that the catalogue was written in the sixth century, earlier than the body of the MS., and must therefore have had a different origin and have been brought only into fortuitous juxtaposition with the collection that precedes it. But one of the new lessons which palaeography has to teach us is that it was quite common and natural for scribes to be able to write in two hands; and I believe that the scribe who wrote in uncials the catalogue that ends with Agapetus was the same as the scribe (or one of the scribes) who wrote in semi-uncials the main body of the MS. Anyone who has the opportunity of examining the documents will find that, wherever the letters admit of comparison—*e.g.*, F and Z—the closest similarity exists between the forms used in the uncial catalogue and in the semi-uncial MS. Moreover this papal catalogue on the guard-leaves at the end of the book is set within an ornamental arcade; and the index of contents on the guard-leaves at the beginning of the book—which obviously presupposes the existence of the book—is also set in an arcade, less elaborate no doubt than the other, but quite like it in general conception and arrangement. And the very difficulty which has suggested the earlier date for the handwriting of the catalogue, namely, that it stops at Agapetus in A.D. 535, carries with it, when looked at more closely, its own solution; for it appears that the scribe of this earlier part knew that some addition was necessary to his work before it could be called complete. Between the line which contains the name of Agapetus and the summary of the total duration of the pontificates from Agapetus back to Peter, QĪ FIVNT ANNI DVIII, a space of some eight or ten lines is left blank; and in this space a semi-uncial hand has, as a matter of fact, inserted the names of the seven successors of Agapetus down to and including St. Gregory. That the list ending with Agapetus was copied by our scribe from the same exemplar from which he derived his canonical collection, cannot be proved; but as we have seen reason to think that the exemplar was written in the sixth century, it is at least not unlikely that it may have contained a papal catalogue ending at just that point. Nor am I prepared to say that the semi-uncial hand which continued the list down to Gregory is that of the scribe, or of any of the scribes, of the main body of the MS.: but if the list was continued only to Gregory after it had passed out of the control of the original scribe or scribes, the pontificate of Gregory appears all the more probably to be the *terminus ad quem* of our MS., which may therefore be dated at about A.D. 600.

# PALÄOGRAPHISCHE BEMERKUNGEN VON LUDWIG TRAUBE.

## I. DIE ABBILDUNGEN DES SYMBOLUM APOSTOLICUM.

### § 1.—Einleitung.

Bei der Beurteilung der paläographischen Noten, die ich zu den hier gebotenen Tafeln beigesteuert habe, bitte ich folgenden Standpunkt einzunehmen. Das Material wurde von meinem Freunde, Rev. A. E. Burn, im Zusammenhang mit seiner grossen, nie unterbrochenen historisch-kritischen Arbeit über die ältesten christlichen Symbole gesammelt. Besondere paläographische Rücksichten waren dafür nicht massgebend. Ich wieder hatte nur den Auftrag und den Beruf, über die so gesammelten Facsimiles, ohne Rücksicht auf ihren liturgischen Inhalt, paläographische Adnotationen zu machen, oder, wie ich besser sagen sollte, Adnotationen zu machen, die einem Paläographen nahe liegen; denn ganz auf graphischem Gebiete können sie sich nicht bewegen. Es kommt aber hinzu, dass ich, obgleich ich mich zu dieser Arbeit schon vor einigen Jahren bereit erklärt hatte, doch nur bei der Münchener und Veroneser Handschrift die Gelegenheit fand, meine Ansichten, die ich auf Photographien, auf gedruckte und *ad hoc* gelieferte Beschreibungen und Verzeichnisse der Abkürzungen gründen musste, durch Autopsie zu überprüfen und zu verbessern. Wenigstens habe ich die andern Handschriften, die ich von den hier beschriebenen sonst noch gesehen habe, vor dem Gedanken an eine bestimmte paläographische Arbeit gesehen.

Es versteht sich von selbst, dass ich liturgische Schriften nur in besonderen Fällen citire. Im Allgemeinen setze ich ihre Kenntnis voraus.

Für die oben erwähnten Bilder und Beschreibungen bin ich ausser A. E. Burn zu Dank verpflichtet folgenden Freunden und Helfern: C. U. Clark für Hülfe in Rom und Mailand, Enander für Hülfe in Paris, P. Gabriel Meier für Hülfe in Einsiedeln, W. Riezler für Hülfe in St. Petersburg, C. H. Turner und P. August Merk, S.J., für Hülfe in Köln und Mailand.

### § 2.—Bern, Stadtbibliothek, 645, Fol. 72.

*Litteratur:* Über den Inhalt der Hs. vgl. ausser Hagens *Katalog* noch Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, I, 564 und 674; Bratke, *Theologische Studien u. Kritiken*, 1895, S. 153 ff.; und A. E. Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*, London, 1899, pag. 241.

Die Schrift der Handschrift möchte ich bezeichnen als eine Zwischenstufe zwischen gallischer Halbunciale und Minuskel. Es lassen sich eine Reihe französischer Handschriften vergleichen, wie Cambrai 624 (*Album Paléographique*, pl. 13), Paris Nouv. Acq. 1597 (Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, pl. 5, 1; Chatelain, *Scriptura Uncialis*, tab. C); Paris Nouv. Acq. 1619 (Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, pl. 5, 2); Karlsruhe Aug. CCLIII; Petersburg F.I. 5, F.I. 6,

O.I. 4. Alle diese Handschriften sind vom 7. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert entstanden. Allein ihre Ähnlichkeit mit dem Bernensis ist nirgends durchschlagend. Die Petersburger Hss., die aus Corbie stammen, und Paris Nouv. Acq. 1619, haben mehr vom eigenen Charakter der Halbunciale (doch kennt der Bernensis auf andern Seiten auch einige halbunciale und unciale Formen, z. B. das *g*, die auf fol. 72 nicht vorkommen). Die Karlsruher Hs., die früher auf der Reichenau lag, hat mehr kursive Elemente. Am nächsten steht noch die Hs. Paris Nouv. Acq. 1597, die dem Kloster des h. Benedikt zu Fleury gehört hat. Aber auch hier sind einzelne Unterschiede, wie in der Bezeichnung des *m* (im Floriacensis ~ und ÷, im Bernensis nur —), nicht zu verkennen. Man wäre geneigt, die Berner Hs. womöglich noch vor dem 8. Jahrhundert oder doch spätestens am Beginn des 8. Jahrhunderts anzusetzen, doch bewegt mich das freilich sparsame und auch rückständige, doch aber auch wieder in Einzelnem fortgeschrittene Abkürzungssystem bis in die Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts zu gehen: z. B. fol. 57ᵛ *dns nr ihs xps*, aber auf derselben Seite auch *dnm nr ihm xpm;* vgl. dazu Traube, *Perrona Scottorum* (*Sitzungsberichte der bayer. Akademie*, 1900, S. 521) [und *Nomina Sacra*, p. 229]. Auch auf der hier gebotenen Seite ist *ihum* fälschlich für *ihm* gesetzt (der Schreiber wollte ausserdem wohl, was richtig ist, in umgekehrter Reihenfolge *xpm ihm* schreiben; ebenso scheint in Zeile 2 *filium* erst verbessert aus *filius*). Ganz auffällig ist auf fol. 57ᵛ *prpt* für *propter;* es dürfte auf Verwechselung mit der legitimen spanischen Form *pptr* beruhen, ebenso ist das unmittelbar folgende *psclis* für *paschalis* nach spanischer Art gebildet. Doch scheint an diesen Stellen, die im Cyclus Paschalis des Victorius Aquitanus stehen, wahrscheinlich die südfranzösische Vorlage durch. Dies dürfte auch der Fall sein an den wenigen Stellen, wo *u* nicht am Zeilenschluss, sondern innerhalb der Zeile, durch das kursive, über der Linie stehende *v* bezeichnet wird, wie fol. 59 *qᵛod aliqᵛociens*. Gut und regelmässig ist *episcopus* (*eps*, etc.) und *Israel* (*isrl*) behandelt.

### § 3.—Paris lat. 13246, Fol. 88. Sog. Sacramentarium Gallicanum.

*Litteratur:* Eine vollständige Beschreibung der Hs. gab Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits* III, 224. [Vgl. auch Dom Wilmart im *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, fasc. XV, col. 941 sqq. (1908).]

*Bilder:* L. Delisle, *loc. cit.*, zählt das vor ihm Vorhandene auf; er beschränkt sich auf den kleinen Schnitt, den Mabillon in *Musaeum Italicum* gab, und die späteren Wiedergaben dieser wenigen Zeilen; Delisle selbst giebt einige Zeilen wieder auf pl. XV, 6 and 7, und pl. XVII, 6. [Vier Seiten bei Dom Wilmart, *loc. cit.*]

Im Jahre 1681 hatte Mabillon sein Hauptwerk herausgegeben; erst 1685—viel zu spät und viel zu flüchtig für die Wissenschaft—unternahm er seine Reise nach Italien. Bei der Rückkehr hielt er sich drei Tage im Kloster Bobbio auf, wo sich freilich die schönsten Hss. schon lange nicht mehr befanden. Vor ihm lag, wie er später erzählte, nur *magni nominis umbra*. Doch entlieh er sich unter andern und erwarb so indirekt für das Heimatland der wissenschaftlichen Paläographie *codicem Liturgiae Gallicanae optimae notae litteris maiusculis exaratum*:[1] es ist dies die Hs. jetzt der Nationalbibliothek zu Paris 13246.

[1] *Musaeum Italicum*, Paris, 1724, T. i., p. 217.

Es ist also über die Provenienz unserer Hs. irgend ein Zweifel nicht möglich. Und entspräche nur einigermassen ihre Schrift dem wohl wechselnden und oft verschiedenartigen, doch aber Alles in Allem sehr bekannten Charakter von Bobbio, deckte sich also Provenienz und Ursprung, so wäre jedes weitere Wort überflüssig.[1] Allein das ist nicht der Fall: die Hs. — sowohl der eigentliche Grundstock (das Sacramentarium Gallicanum mit dem *Credo*) als die vielen gleichzeitigen oder spätern Nachträge (Delisle führt sie genau auf)—ist so unkalligraphisch geschrieben und nimmt eine so exceptionelle Stellung ein, dass man suchen und debattiren muss.

Da nun die Paläographie zunächst nur negativen Bescheid gibt, und uns von Bobbio wegweist, so müssen wir die Kultureinflüsse betrachten, die in der Hs. zu Tage treten und vielleicht zu einem andern bekannten Centrum hinführen können.

Da gibt es nun ohne Frage zunächst starke Spanische Symptome. So die Wortform *Romensis*, vgl. Traube,[2] *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, S. 129 (= *Abhandlungen der Bayer. Akademie*, XXI, iii, 727); sie drang freilich von Spanien nach Frankreich vor, und steht ebenso z. B. in Rom Reg. lat. 317, und Gotha Membr. I, 85. Ein Stück der Nachträge, fol. 294, *de tempore nativitatis Christi*, findet sich wieder in der spanischen Hs., s. viii, jetzt Albi 29: vgl. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* III, 728. Die sogenannten *Joca monachorum*, wieder in den Nachträgen, haben auch entfernten Zusammenhang mit Spanien; vgl. Omont, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XLIV, 58. Dennoch aber ist Schrift (mitsamt der Kürzungen) und Orthographie in der gesammten Hs. nichts weniger als spanisch. Wir finden überall den Typus *n̄i* mit einigen Fällen des Typus *n̄ri*, aber nirgends die spanischen Formen von *ñoster*; es wird *is̄l* für *Israel* geschrieben, nicht *s̄l* oder eine der andern spanischen Formen; *q̄nm* und *sc̄lm*, die vorkommen, sind zwar ursprünglich spanische Bildungen, die aber früh schon ziemlich verbreitet waren; ꝑ steht in der eigentlichen Hs. immer für *per* und daneben kommt hie und da ꝓ für *pro* vor; nur in den Nachträgen steht ꝑ auch für *per*; diese Art ist aber nicht nur spanisch, sondern auch früh-französisch.

Bedeutender als die spanischen scheinen die Irischen Einflüsse zu sein, die auf die Hs. eingewirkt haben. Die Liturgiker sind über diesen Punkt jetzt einig.[3] Man kann ihren Argumenten etwa noch den Hinweis auf die Orthographie hinzufügen, die in den Nachträgen stellenweis hervortritt: *concesione*, *posedet*, *preceset* (= *praecessit*), *pasionem*, *mesam* (= *missam*). Wir sind gewöhnt, derartige Schreibungen, die freilich auch wieder an Spanien denken lassen könnten, im Allgemeinen als irisch anzusehen.

Also hier scheinen wir doch nach Bobbio zurückgewiesen zu werden. Und für Italien, und damit auch wieder für Bobbio, spricht dem Ansehen nach auch die Erwähnung der heiligen Eugenia (*Eogenia* bei Mabillon I, 2, pag. 281 und 289). Ich hatte früher in der *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti* (pag. 103 = 701) erklärt, dass es noch so stände wie zur Zeit Mabillons: man könne den Kult der Eugenia nicht gut lokalisiren. Inzwischen fand Ebner (*Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Missale Romanum*, Freiburg, 1896,

[1] Ich halte Dom Cagins Annahme, dass der Inhalt der Hs. auf Bobbio weise, durch Duchesne, Lejay und Morin für widerlegt.

[2] Dafür dass *Romensis* die spanische Form für *Romanus* war, haben sich seither mir noch sehr viele Beispiele ergeben; freilich auch dafür, dass die Form von Spanien aus sich in Gallien verbreitete. Die Murbache Hs. Martène's, in der das *Breviarium ecclesiae ordinis Rominsae* steht, habe ich inzwischen in Gotha wieder aufgefunden.

[3] Vgl. Bannister, *Journal of Theological Studies*, V (1903), 54.

pag. 424) zwei sicher italienische Hss. mit Anrufung der Eugenia: Rom, Sess. CXXXVI, s. xi (aus Como), und Florenz Laur. Aed. CXI, s. x (aus Florenz). Freilich steht diesen Hss. die Regula Magistri gegenüber (vgl. *Textgeschichte, loc. cit.*). Hier spielt Sancta Eugenia eine Rolle, und weder die Regel selbst noch die Hss. der Regel können aus Italien sein.[1]

Allein, wenn wir uns auch an die beiden italienischen Hss. und nicht an die Regula Magistri halten wollten—die Schrift ist entschieden einer Lokalisirung in Italien entgegen, sie ist absolut nicht bobiensisch. In Bobbio stiessen ja irische und italienische Kultur zusammen, und irgend etwas in der Schrift und in den Abkürzungen der Codices Bobienses lässt immer das Produkt dieser doppelten Strömung erkennen. Wir sehen entweder italienische Schrift mit insularen Kürzungen oder insulare Schrift mit italienischen Kürzungen, oft beides zusammen in derselben Hs. Wo aber eine solche Kreuzung nicht stattgefunden hat, pflegt das eine der beiden Elemente, das insulare oder das italienische, doch so stark und klar entwickelt zu sein, dass man über die Herkunft der Hs. nicht im Zweifel sein kann. Im Parisinus 13246 ist das nicht so. Die Schrift ist in der Hs. selbst Unciale ohne irischen Beisatz, in den Nachträgen mit Minuskel gemischte Unciale, desgleichen ohne jeden Anklang an das Insulare. Es kommt keinerlei insulare Abkürzung vor.

Suchen wir aber nach einer andern Stätte ausserhalb Bobbios, wo irischer Einfluss auf den Schreiber wirken konnte und zu der die Schrift des Codex besser passen würde, so werden unsere Gedanken von Italien nach Gallien, von Bobbio nach Luxeuil gelenkt. An Luxeuil hatte einst schon Mabillon gedacht, aber nicht gerade aus paläographischen Gründen. Auch wir wollen nur soviel sagen: Die französische Gründung Columbans unterscheidet sich von der italienischen dadurch, dass in ihr das irische Element auf den Charakter der Schrift gar nicht eingewirkt hat; diese bleibt dort vielmehr gallisch. Schrift und Abkürzungen in Paris 13246 sind für Luxeuil möglich, gerade so gut möglich wie unmöglich für Bobbio. Freilich eine besondere Ähnlichkeit könnte ich auch nicht ins Feld führen. Die Hs. ist aber älter als die sonst bekannten Erzeugnisse aus Luxeuil. In der Sprache könnte die oben erwähnte irische Eigenthümlichkeit der Nachträge gut auf Luxeuil gedeutet werden. Andere Orthographica, wie das erwähnte *Eogenia*, und z. B. *seo*, haben eine Entsprechung in der Überlieferung vieler gallischer Hss. (vgl. Schuchardt, *Vokalismus*, II, 163; *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 114, adn. 3). Die oft sehr vulgäre Sprache der Nachträge schien den Romanisten wenigstens mehr nach Frankreich als nach Italien zu weisen; vgl. P. Meyer, *Romania* I (1872), 489; Boucherie, *Revue des Langues Romanes*, V (1874), 103; derselbe in *Mélanges Latins et Bas-Latins*, Montpellier, 1875. Doch das sind allgemeine Erwähnungen, die nur für Frankreich und zum Theil gegen Italien sprechen. Von besonderen Gründen, die sich für Luxeuil anführen liessen, wäre ausser den irischen Eigenheiten und den nahen Beziehungen zwischen Bobbio und Luxeuil nur folgender noch geltend zu machen. Der Name *Bertulfus*, der fol. 197$^{v}$ auf dem Rand des Parisinus steht (eben so wie an andern Stellen: *Elderatus*, *Manubertus*, *Dacolena*,[2] und *Bonolo*), wurde von Mabillon auf den Abt von Bobbio (+ 639) bezogen. Bertulfus kam aber nach Bobbio im Jahre 626 aus Luxeuil. Wir möchten also eher annehmen, wenn ein Zusammenhang existirt, dass Bertulfus das Buch nach Bobbio mitbrachte. Doch dies ist eine vage Möglichkeit. Wollen wir uns in den Grenzen des

[1] Dasselbe gilt vom Sakramentar von Gellone, wo gleichfalls *Eogenia* angerufen wird.

[2] Förstemann führt einen Dacolenus aus einer Urkunde von Moissac a. 680 an (Pardessus, *Diplomata*, II, 185).

Wahrscheinlichen halten, so ist eben zu sagen: der Parisinus ist ein wenig kalligraphisches Machwerk, dessen Lokalisirung und chronologische Fixirung schwer fällt; wahrscheinlich gehört die Hs. nach Frankreich als ein Erzeugniss des sehr barbarischen 7. Jahrhunderts. Irische Einflüsse, die der Inhalt und die Orthographie wiederspiegelt, könnten auf Luxeuil weisen oder eine Stätte, die unter ähnlichen Bedingungen stand, wie diese irische Gründung in Frankreich. Wollte man mit noch grösserer Vorsicht sagen: die Hs. habe in Bobbio gelegen, sei aber nicht von einem an die Bobienser, sondern an französische Schrift Gewöhnten geschrieben, so könnten dagegen mit Recht die Nachträge geltend gemacht werden, da auch in ihnen nicht die Schrift von Bobbio angewandt ist.

### § 4.—Rom Pal. lat. 493, Fol. 16, 16ᵛ, 17. Sog. Missale Gallicanum Vetus.

*Litteratur:* Zu vergleichen über diese Hs. ist Adalbert Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum*, Freiburg-i.-B., 1896, S. 246, wo auch die ältere Litteratur zu finden ist. Hinzuzufügen ist die neue Auflage von Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, Paris, 1898, pag. 144, und der zweite Band von F. Kattenbusch, *Das Apostolische Symbol*, Leipzig, 1900, *passim*.

*Bilder:* Ich kenne nur den Stich bei Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venedig, 1748, vol. II, gegenüber von pag. 391. Bei Ebner wird zwar ein Bild auf S. 430 als "die Titelseite aus Cod. Palat. 493" bezeichnet, doch liegt ein Irrthum vor, und das Bild entspricht vielmehr Rom Reg. 317, fol. 169ᵛ.

Delisle sagt (*Mémoires de l'Institut, Ac. des Inscriptions*, vol. XXXII, pag. 73) mit vollem Recht: "Ces cent six feuillets forment treize cahiers, dont les douze premiers sont les débris d'un ou de deux sacramentaires." In der That sind, von dem ganz unzugehörigen Anhang (fol. 100 sqq.) abgesehen, drei Hände zu unterscheiden; davon ist wieder eine von den übrigen so verschieden, auch die Einrichtung dieses Theiles der Hs. so abweichend, dass man geneigt ist, nicht nur eine andere Hand, sondern auch eine andere Hs. vorauszusetzen. Hierher gehören die 3. Lage (fol. 34–43), die 4. und 5. (fol. 19–33), die 6. bis 12. (fol. 44–99): auf diesen Blättern hat die Hs. überall 20 Zeilen. Die 1. Lage mit 16 Zeilen (fol. 1–10) und die 2. mit 14 Zeilen (fol. 11–18) stehen sich dagegen sehr nahe in Schrift und Initialsornamentik. Dasselbe Schwanken in der Zeilenzahl herrscht übrigens auch in dem nahe verwandten Rom Reg. lat. 317, wo der erste Theil 14, der zweite Theil 20 Zeilen hat, so dass auf solchen Unterschied gebauter Schluss allein nicht sicher ist.

Wenn man sich ganz im Gebiete der Paläographie hält, so hat man für die Beurtheilung der Hs. folgende Elemente. Die Unciale, die gelegentlich verwandte Minuskel (fol. 10ᵛ, Zeile 3 von unten, *per dn̄m*; fol. 17 zweimal *cre<do>* von einer anderen Hand), die Ornamentik sind eigenartig und zeigen deutliche Anklänge an die von mir sogenannte "Schule von Luxeuil"; der Nachtrag ist an einer deutschen Stätte, wie etwa Murbach, im 9. Jahrhundert geschrieben. Die ganze Hs. gehörte später dem Kloster des h. Nazarius zu Lorsch.

Hinzunehmen kann man noch die nahe Verwandtschaft von Palat. lat. 493 mit Reg. lat. 317. Beide Hss. sind inhaltlich und paläographisch oft verglichen worden. Offenbar ist der Zusammenhang ein enger. Mir scheint der Palatinus um einiges jünger als der Reginensis.

Er steht zum Reginensis vielleicht im Verhältniss eines Neffen. Nun ist der Reginensis genauer zu localisiren als der Palatinus. Er wurde nach 680 für die Diöcese von Autun geschrieben. Man darf daher vom Palatinus vielleicht sagen: er gehört zur Schule von Luxeuil, wurde geschrieben am Beginn des 8. Jahrhunderts, kam aus Burgund über eines der Klöster, die Beziehungen zu Deutschland hatten, im 9. Jahrhundert nach Lorsch.

## § 5.—Paris lat. 12048, Fol. 181 und 191v. Sacramentarium und Martyrologium von Gellone.

*Litteratur:* Beschreibung bei Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, III, 221 ff.; derselbe, *Mémoires de l'Institut, Académie des Inscriptions*, XXXII, 80. Vgl. ferner über die Herkunft Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, 123 (= 721); Dom Cagin in *Mélanges Cabrières*, Paris, 1899, I, 231 ff.; Dom Quentin, *Revue Bénédictine*, XX (1903), 370 f.

*Bilder:* Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, pl. XIV, 8. Er führt auch, *loc. cit.*, die älteren Abbildungen im *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, bei Bastard (nach der von Delisle eingeführten Zählung pl. 49–61), in *Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance*, und in der *Paléographie Universelle*, an.

Man ist gewöhnt, die Schrift dieses prächtigen Codex als "spanisch" (écriture visigothique) zu bezeichnen. Die Verfasser des *Nouveau Traité* haben es so eingeführt: Silvestre, Delisle, Chatelain (*Introduction à la Lecture des Notes Tironiennes*, Paris, 1900, pag. 120) und Andere haben die Bezeichnung angenommen, Delisle aber drückt sich an einer Stelle auch wieder viel vorsichtiger aus, und spricht von "écriture demi-onciale qui se rattache à l'école visigothique" (*Mémoires, loc. cit.*, pag. 81).

Nun gibt es wohl Eigenthümlichkeiten in der Orthographie, die man für Spanien geltend machen könnte: z. B. *hęradicare*, *hunum*, *dihutius*, *habysi* (= *abyssi*). Aber wir treffen desgleichen doch auch in Frankreich.

In der Kürzung gibt es spanische Anklänge hie und da. So *usrm* (= *uestrum*), *ms* (= *meus*) und *mo* (= *meo*). Auch die Buchstaben sind z. Th. spanisch gefärbt, besonders das *g*. Im Allgemeinen spricht aber auch in der Paläographie sofort vieles gegen die Annahme spanischer Herkunft. Die Worte *noster* und *uester* (bis auf die oben erwähnte Form), *Israel*, *nomen*, *autem*, *per* und *pro* haben in den Kurzformen, die unsere Hs. für sie setzt, nicht spanisches, sondern französisches Gepräge. Die ganze Hs. gehört, der Schrift nach, in die Kategorie der oben zur Erklärung des Bernensis zusammengestellten französischen Hss. der Übergangszeit.

Die Miniaturen und Ornamente (der "Buchschmuck," wie wir sagen) sind sehr eigenartig und es gibt unter den vor-Karolingischen und Karolingischen Hss. keine genaue Parallele. Janitschek (*Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1889, pag. 69) denkt an syrische Einflüsse. Dass der Orient irgendwie auf diese Art der Buchmalerei eingewirkt hat, darf gewiss behauptet werden auch von denen, die Strzygowskis geistreiche Hypothesen nicht alle annehmen. Indessen bleibt es merkwürdig, dass was man am ehesten von vorhandenen lateinischen Hss. zum Vergleich der Hs. von Gellone heranziehen könnte auf spanischem Boden entstanden ist. Ist die Hs. also vielleicht dennoch mit Spanien enger verbunden als

wir glauben möchten? Schon im 9. Jahrhundert, wie die späteren Einträge zeigen—Delisle zählt sie pag. 222 auf—befand sich die Hs. in Gellone, in der südfranzösischen Diöcese Lodève, d. h. in der Sphäre spanischer Einflüsse. Aber gerade diese Nachträge und Randnotizen, die sich von der Schrift des Sakramentars und Martyrologiums deutlich abheben und Karolingischen Charakter tragen, beweisen, dass der Zusammenhang der Hs. mit Gellone erst im 9. Jahrhundert hergestellt wurde.

Wir sind in der glücklichen Lage, bei dieser mehr negativen Auskunft nicht stehen bleiben zu brauchen. In der That hat schon Sollier gesehen,[1] dass bestimmte ursprüngliche Notizen im Text des Martyrologium besonderen Bezug auf das Kloster Rebais in der Diöcese Meaux nehmen. Dom Quentin hat diesen Stellen noch eine weitere hinzugeführt, aus der sich ergibt, dass die Hs. geschrieben wurde während Romanus Bischof von Meaux war. Dies führt mit ziemlicher Sicherheit auf das Jahr ca. 750.

Für diese Zeit und diese Gegend passt nun auch vollständig das Stadium, in dem die Kürzungen der Hs. stehen. Besonders können wir dies an *noster* und *uester* erkennen. Der Nominativ ist $\overline{nt}$,[2] die Deklination folgt dem Typus $\overline{ni}$, selten sind Formen des Typus $\overline{nri}$.

Zusammenfassend möchte ich sagen: die Hs. ist ca. a. 750 *für* und wahrscheinlich *in* der Diöcese Meaux geschrieben worden; der Kalligraph oder die Kalligraphen, die an ihr arbeiteten, haben vielleicht irgendwie spanische Schulung auf sich anwirken lassen.

## § 6.—Einsiedeln 199, pp. 473 und 474. Dicta Priminii.

*Litteratur:* Eine genaue Beschreibung der Hss. Einsiedeln 199 und 281 gibt P. Gabriel Meier im *Catalogus Codicum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii Einsidlensis servantur*, Einsidlae, 1899, pag. 155 sqq. und 257 sqq.

[L. Traube, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayer. Akademie*, 1907, S. 71 ff.]

[*Bilder:* L. Traube, *loc. cit.*, tab. I.]

Vertrautheit mit den heimischen Schätzen und Liebe zu ihnen haben dem Einsiedler Bibliothekar P. Gabriel Meier das hübsche Forschungsergebniss geschenkt,[3] dass aus den beiden Einsiedler Handschriften 199 und 281 folgendes alte Homiliar hergestellt werden kann:

Quaternio I—X = 281 pag. 1—148
X—XV = 199 pag. 431—526
XVI (—XVII ?) = 281 pag. 149—178.

Doch bleibt die Frage offen, ob diese jetzt getrennten, im 9. Jahrhundert aber wahrscheinlich noch zusammengebundenen 16 oder 17 Quaternionen von vornherein schon für dasselbe Buch bestimmt waren. Möglich ist es, obgleich die Hände wechseln und der

[1] Vgl. Traube, *loc. cit.*, pag. 124.

[2] Für den Nominativ werden mir noch die Formen $\overline{nst}$ und $\overline{ust}$ angegeben (vgl. *Perrona Scottorum*, pag. 516). Da sie auf den mir zugänglichen Abbildungen und Photographien nicht vorkommen, so möchte ich sie vorläufig als unsicher weglassen. [Vgl. *Nomina sacra*, pag. 224.]

[3] Vgl. *Catalogus Codicum, qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii Einsidlensis servantur*, Einsidlae, 1899, pp. 155 sqq. und 257 sqq.

eine Schreiber jünger erscheint als der andere oder die andern. Unser Stück gehört zu dem Theile der Handschrift, der den ältesten Eindruck macht.

Wir sehen vor uns eine Schrift, die in einem grossen Bezirk heimisch war: in Chur, St. Gallen, Reichenau, in Murbach, in einzelnen bayerischen Klöstern, und zwar von der Wende des 8. zum 9. Jahrhundert bis in die ersten Jahrzehnte des 9. Jahrhunderts hinein.[1] Dazu stimmt es gut, dass cod. 199 die *Dicta Priminii* überliefert. Der Begründer des klösterlichen Lebens auf der Reichenau und in Murbach kann leicht einen Verbreiter seines Werkchens gefunden haben, der sich solcher Schriftzüge bediente, wie sie im alamannischen Lande zu Hause waren.

Es ist hier nicht der Ort, auf den eigenthümlichen Typus dieser Schrift und ihren Ursprung einzugehen. Kurz erwähnt sei nur, was sich jedem paläographisch geschulten Auge aufdrängt, dass sie das Resultat einer von verschiedenen Seiten ausgehenden Bewegung ist: die in Frankreich sich entwickelnde Minuskel ist unter dem Einfluss der gleichfalls noch in der Entwickelung begriffenen Schule von Montecassino in eine eigenartige kalligraphische Richtung gedrängt worden.

Das von Pater Meier rekonstruierte Homiliar ist älter als die Gründung der geistlichen Stätte, die seine versprengten Theile aufgehoben hat. Doch fehlt es in Einsiedeln auch sonst nicht ganz an Handschriften, die denselben Typus zeigen. So 157 *Gregorius in Ezechielem* s. VIII/IX; 199 pag. 257—430; *Canones* s. IX; 357 Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* s. VIII/IX. An sich läge es nahe, zu denken, dass diese Bücher auf geradem Wege von der Reichenau nach Einsiedeln gekommen seien. Aber ein späterer Eintrag auf pag. 452 von Codex 199 lässt an einen anderen Gang der Überlieferung denken.

Auf dieser Seite steht in Buchstaben des angehenden 12. Jahrhunderts zwischen 14 Zeilen des Textes, der eine pseudo-Augustinische Predigt enthält, eine merkwürdige Interlinearversion in einem offenbar romanischen Dialekt. Pater Meier hielt ihn für dem Spanischen verwandt; ich wurde, sobald ich auf einer Photographie die ganze Stelle kennen lernte, von der P. Meier in seinem Katalog nur ein kleines Stück veröffentlicht hatte, zur Meinung gedrängt, dass wir hier vielmehr die älteste Probe eines rhätoromanischen Sprachzweigs vor uns hätten. Gustav Gröber belehrte mich, dass der romanische Text die Färbung des Romontsch aufweise, das im oberen Rheinthal zu Hause sei.

Ich selbst hatte mich zunächst auf die Schrift des Textes gestützt und auf eine Beobachtung, die mich schon in *Perrona Scottorum* (*Sitzungsberichte*, 1900, S. 514) dazu geführt hatte, den Codex als einen rhätischen zu bezeichnen. Aber gerade hierüber erlaubt mir jetzt Pater Meiers erneute freundliche Hülfe, weitere und bessere Auskunft zu erteilen. Die von ihm zusammengefügten Teile der Handschriften 199 und 281 zeigen auf dem Gebiet der Kürzungen fast durchweg den Typus *nī* etc. für *nostri* etc. Als Nominativ gehört dazu *nr̄* (= *noster*). Von Formen des Typus *nrī* kommt nur je einmal, wie es scheint, *nrm̄* und *nr̄ę* vor. Seltsam ist nun, dass an folgenden Stellen *n̄sm̄* statt *n̄m̄* oder *n̄rm̄* steht: in Codex 199 auf pag. 432, 445, 473, 474, 481 und in Codex 281 auf pag. 13. Früher habe ich diese Überreste spanischer Bildung—denn das sind sie unzweifelhaft—der besonderen Schule zugewiesen, in der das Homiliar geschrieben wurde. Es scheint mir jetzt wegen der Seltenheit der spanischen Formen in der Einsiedler Handschrift, worüber ich damals noch

[1] Vgl. Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, S. 54 (= 652) und 66 (= 664).

nicht genügend unterrichtet war, und vor allem, weil lediglich der Accusativ die spanische Bildung hat, viel wahrscheinlicher anzunehmen, dass die Vorlage dieser Handschrift von einem spanischen Kalligraphen herrührte. Man wird sich dabei zunächst an die *Dicta Priminii* halten wollen. Über die Herkunft des Priminius weiss man nichts, nur dass er nach Alamannien als *peregrinus* kam. Man deutet diese Bezeichnung auf seine Herkunft aus Irland oder England. Darf aber nicht die Vermuthung ausgesprochen werden, dass Priminius Spanier war? dass der seltsame Name eine an *Primus* und *Primigenius* angelehnte Umgestaltung von *Pimenius* (= Ποιμένιος) ist?

Die Orthographie der Handschrift, überhaupt die Sprache in den einzelnen Bestandtheilen, ist sehr ungleich; vgl. Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, I (Christiania 1883), S. VIII ff., S. 151 ff., S. 215 ff.; Caspari, *Eine Augustin fälschlich beigelegte Homilia de Sacrilegiis* (Christiania 1886), S. 52 ff. Zumeist trifft man gallische, oder allgemein romanische Eigenthümlichkeiten. Auf ausschliesslich spanischen Ursprung kann ich mit Sicherheit nichts zurückführen; *ressurgere* und *ressurrectio*, wie immer in den *Dicta Priminii* begegnet, kann ebensogut spanisch wie irisch sein; *kalandae*, wie immer geschrieben wird und was an sich in einer lateinischen Handschrift nicht als Graecismus, sondern als irische Orthographie gelten könnte, wird eher als rhätische Eigenheit zu fassen sein.

## II. DIE ABBILDUNGEN DES SYMBOLUM NICAENUM.

### § 1.—Rom Vatic. lat. 1322. Canones.

*Litteratur:* Bethmann, *Archiv d. Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XII, 224; Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen . . . . des canonischen Rechts*, I, 737 und 745; *Spicilegium Casinense*, tom. I, a. 1888, pag. xxx.

*Bilder:* *Leonis Magni Opera*, studio Cacciari (Romae, a. 1755), II, pag. lxv. Im *Spicileg. Casinens.*, tab. III.

Die Hs. besteht aus zwei Theilen: fol. 1–24, saec. ix; fol. 25–285, saec. vi–vii. Sie stammt aus Verona. Dies erweisen nicht nur der Eintrag, saec. xv, *de Verona*, fol. 25, und die Veronesischen Aktenstücke, die am Schluss nachgetragen sind (vgl. Maassen 737, und Amelli im *Spicileg. Casinens.*, pag. xxxii), wozu der Zusammenhang mit der Hs. von Novara kommt (*Spicileg.*, pag. xxx), der wenigstens für oberitalienische Heimath spricht, sondern auch die Schrift. Sie ist im ersten Theil der Hs. Minuskel in dem Typus, den wir aus vielen Hss. in Verona kennen und vielleicht mit dem Veroneser Archidiaconus Pacificus (+ 844) in Verbindung bringen können. Wie Pacificus mit westfränkischen Gelehrten (z. B. Hildemarus von Corbie) in Zusammenhang steht, so kann diese Schrift, die allen italienischen Charakter abgestreift hat, wohl aus Frankreich abgeleitet werden.

Aber auch die Schrift des zweiten Theiles gehört vielleicht nach Verona. Es ist Halbunciale. Aber nicht mehr die reine von saec. v und saec. vi, sondern die der zweiten italienischen Stufe. Ein an die ältere Halbunciale gewöhntes Auge erkennt den Unterschied sofort und braucht auf die einzelnen Fehler (z. B. öfter unciales ∂ statt halbuncialem d)[1] nicht

[1] Dagegen unciales ϛ statt halbuncialem ȝ auch in alter Halbunciale. Verona LIII (51) hat auch ϛ; desgl. LIX (57).

erst aufmerksam gemacht zu werden. Am deutlichsten sprechen auch hier die Abkürzungen ; peccatorꝝ, mortuorꝝ, uerꝝ, iterꝝ (wo *ꝝ* mit einer schrägen Fahne *rum* bedeutet), wie sie hier z. B. vorkommen (auch auf fol. 153ᵛ und 154), kennt die ältere Halbunciale nicht ; aber ganz gleiche Schrift mit eben solchen Abkürzungen mit dem eben so gebildeten Fähnchen finden sich in Verona LIII (51), Facundus, *de tribus capitulis* und *contra Mucianum*.

Verona LIII (51), Verona LIX (57), Vatic. lat. 1322, können nun auch nach ihrem Inhalt vor dem Ende des VI. Jahrhunderts nicht geschrieben sein. Die Abfassung des gegen Mucianus gerichteten Werkes des Facundus wird etwa aufs Jahr 571 angesetzt. Es muss hier davon abgesehen werden, dass bei dem Namen des Verfassers in Verona LIII (51), fol. 288, *scae mm* steht, was Reifferscheid (*Bibliotheca patrum latt. italica*, I, 55) gewiss richtig als *sanctae memoriae* deutet, weil ein solcher Zusatz gelegentlich bei Lebenden vorkommt. Immerhin ist Verona LIII (51) natürlich nicht das Original.

Die Canones in Verona LIX (57) enthalten, wie Maassen (*loc. cit.*, pag. 763) zeigt, als jüngstes Stück die Akten des Concils von Chalcedon in der Ausgabe des Rusticus. Die Hs. kann also nicht vor a. 550 entstanden sein.

Dieselbe Bemerkung gilt von Vatic. lat. 1322, da die Hs. in ihrem halbuncialen Theil die Canones des Concils von Chalcedon ja auch in der Ausgabe des Rusticus enthält.

Verona LIX (57) und Vatic. lat. 1322 sind wohl die ältesten Hss. der Bearbeitung des Rusticus, aber keineswegs ist eine oder die andere der Stammvater unserer Überlieferung, vielmehr sind beide nun Ableger, da sie die sonst erhaltenen Anmerkungen des Rusticus weglassen.

Eigenthümlich berührt den Paläographen in Mitten der Halbunciale von Vatic. lat. 1322 der Gebrauch der Capitalis, und zwar einer schlechten, ungeschickten, die auch für ein jüngeres Alter der Hs. spricht. Der Schreiber verwendet sie nicht nur für Überschriften, sondern auch für Anfänge und Hervorhebungen.

## § 2.—Toulouse 364 (I, 63), Fol. 4, 4ᵛ, 104, 104ᵛ.

*Litteratur:* Zu vergleichen ist *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements* (alte Serie), VII, 203 sqq. ; Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen des canonischen Rechts*, I, 592 (wegen der Hs. von Albi) ; vor Allem C. H. Turner, *Journal of Theological Studies*, II (1901), 266–273.

*Bild:* Ein ganz ungenügendes Facsimile bei F. Schulte, *Iter Gallicum, Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Phil.-hist. Classe, LIX (1868), 422, Facsimile V.

Dass wir uns bei dieser Hs. nicht mit der allgemeinen Angabe : Unciale der Verfallszeit, zu begnügen brauchen, wird einzig einem glänzenden Funde C. H. Turners verdankt.

Turner erkannte, dass Toulouse 364 (= T) und Paris lat. 8901 (= P) ursprüngliche Bestandtheile einer und derselben grossen kanonistischen Hs. sind. Er erkannte aber ferner, dass wir in einer viel jüngeren Hs., Albi 2 (= A), eine Abschrift der ursprünglichen Hs. besitzen, die genommen wurde als diese noch nicht auseinandergerissen war. Aus A ersehen wir auch, welche Bestandtheile der ursprünglichen Hs. nicht mehr im Original vorhanden sind ; denn es ist $A = T + P + x$. Dieses $x$ nun, das in A, wenn auch erst in einer Abschrift des

9. Jahrhunderts, vorhanden ist, verhilft unter anderm zu einer so genauen Datirung und Lokalisirung von T and P, dass wir bei kaum einer Hs. derselben Epoche besser gestellt sind.

Es heisst nämlich auf fol. 177$^{v}$ von Albi 2 : " Ego Perpetuus quamuis indignus presbyter/ iussus a domino meo Didone urbis Albi/gensium episcopum (epm̄ *cod.*) hunc librum canonum/scripsi. Post incendium civitatis ip/sius hic liber recuperatus (re *in loco raso*, peratus *superscr. cod.*) fuit deo auxiliante (auxiliant̄ *cod.*)/ sub die VIII (VIII *superscr. cod.*) Kl. Ag. ann. IIII regnante (regnant̄ *cod.*) domini nostri Childerici reg."

Diese Subscription kann sich, wie man schon früher gesehen hatte, auf die junge Hs. A nicht beziehen ; sie muss sich, wie erst Turner festgestellt hat, auf das Original von A beziehen, also auf T und P. Die Toulouse Hs. ist also geschrieben von einem Presbyter Perpetuus auf Befehl des Bischofs Dido von Albi, von dem wir sonst leider nichts näheres wissen. Bis *scripsi* hatte Perpetuus selbst diese Angabe gemacht. Die Worte, die nun folgen, waren im Original von A von einer späteren, wahrscheinlich in Kursive schreibenden Hand hinzugefügt worden. Sie besagen, dass man die Hs. (den *Liber Canonum*, wie Perpetuus gesagt hatte) nach einem Brande der Stadt Albi, von dem wir wieder nur aus dieser Subscriptio erfahren, am 25. Juli 666 oder 667[1] wiedererlangt hat. Also T ist älter als 666 oder 667.

Wir haben nun aber noch eine Grenze der andern Seite. In A findet sich auch eine Papstliste,[2] die in T und P fehlt. Auch sie muss im Original des *Liber Canonum* gestanden haben. Während sonst die Jahre, Monate und Tage der einzelnen Regierungszeiten in dieser Liste verzeichnet werden, hat Gregorius (der Grosse), mit dem die Liste schliesst, statt der richtigen Angabe :

*Gregorius sed. an. XIII mens II. d. X*

die falsche und unvollständige

*Gregorius sed. an. LXV.*

Hieraus darf man folgern—und ist von Duchesne und Turner richtig gefolgert worden—dass der *Liber Canonum* geschrieben wurde, nachdem Papst Gregor zur Herrschaft gekommen war. Mit Turner also können wir jetzt sagen : die Hs. Toulouse 364 wurde zu Albi, in der Nähe von Toulouse, geschrieben, zwischen den Jahren ca. 600 und 666.

Zu dieser Fixirung passt aufs beste die Art der Unciale und einige in Kursive geschriebene Worte (P, fol. 28 und 35) und die Art der Kürzung. Turner hat schon darauf hingewiesen, dass der Gebrauch des Compendiums für *per* in einer Form, die sonst für *pro* verwendet wird, die spanische Nachbarschaft verräth. Bildungen des Genetivus Pluralis wie : *epor̄m*, *diacor̄m*, *prbtror̄m*, *scr̄m* werden auch daher gerechnet werden können. Wenn fol. 104 OMOYSION durch einen Strich ausgezeichnet wird, so sei erinnert, dass es allgemeine Regel war, griechische und überhaupt fremdsprechliche Wörter (z. B. auch hebräische) in dieser Weise von ihrer lateinischen Umgebung abzuheben.

[1] Über diese Zahlen, die sich auf die Datirungen von Krusch und Havet stützen, vgl. Duchesne, *Fastes Episcopaux*, II, 43, and Turner, *loc. cit.*, pag. 272. Mir scheint wahrscheinlich, dass das genaue Datum zugleich den Tag des Brandes und der Errettung der Bibliothek aus diesem Brande ergibt.

[2] Vgl. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 27 ; Mommsen, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, xxxix.

# FACSIMILES AND TRANSCRIPTS.

# NOTE.

The transcripts which accompany the plates have been prepared and revised by Mr. J. P. Gilson of the British Museum. They are intended to furnish such assistance in the examination of the plates as may be of service to a reader not accustomed to the difficulties which some of the early MSS. present.

Capital letters have been used for the initials of proper names.

The punctuation has been treated with some freedom, but every stop in the transcript represents some mark of punctuation in the MS.

Square brackets [ ] have been used for words or letters which are not now to be seen in the MS., and in a few cases for accidental omissions by the scribe.

Angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ are employed to mark an addition or change apparently later than the original writing of the first hand.

A few special points are dealt with in footnotes.

est deus quoniam ipse fecit nos et non ipsi nos, credimus quia in hac clarissima tuba omnes inprobitas conquiescat. deus uos incolumes custodiat fratres karissimi.

xxxviii. dat. x kalendas Septembres. Filio Paulino a . . . . . .

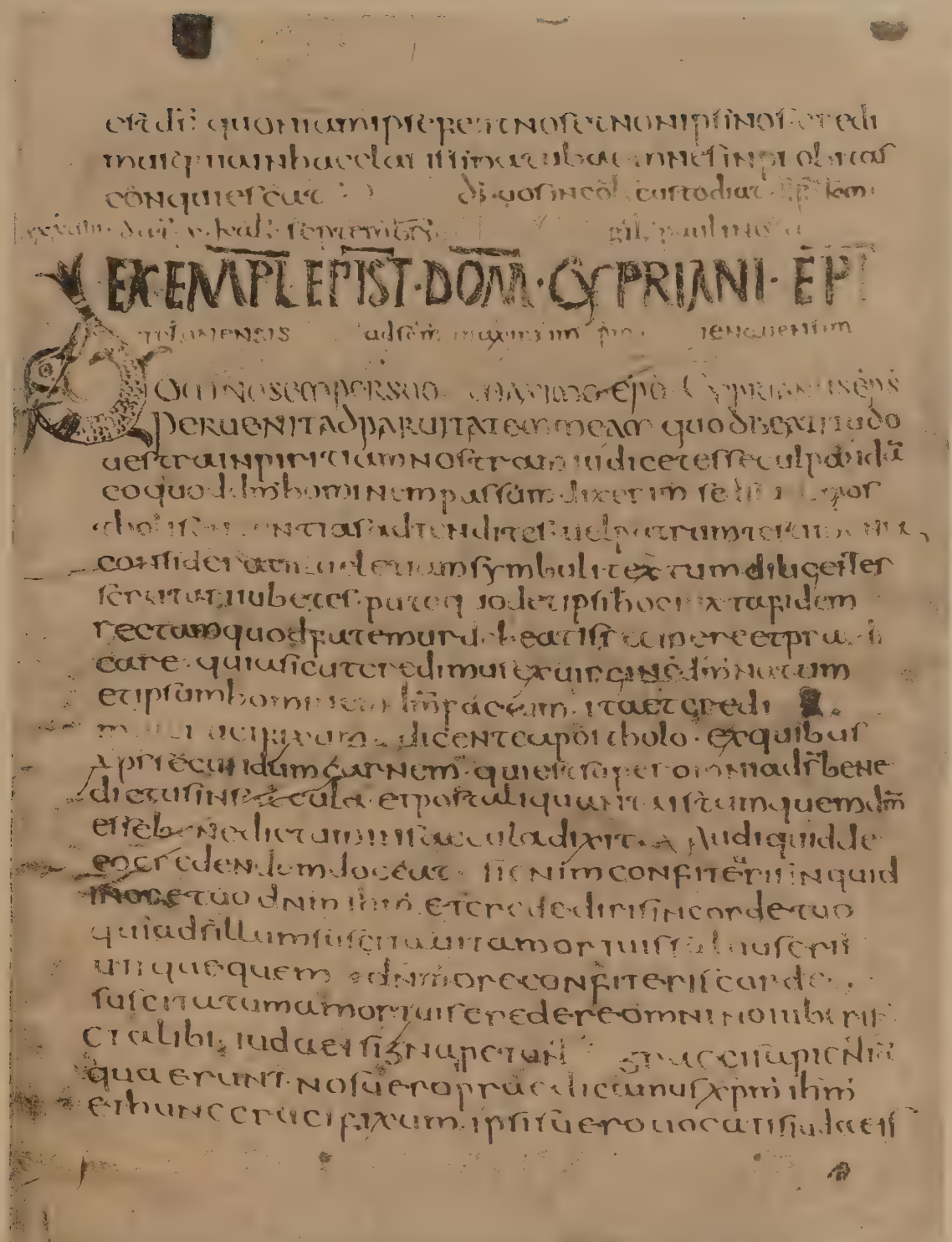
# EXEMPLVM EPISTOLAE DOMINI CYPRIANI EPISCOPI

## TELONENSIS AD SANCTUM MAXIMUM EPISCOPUM IENAUENSIM.

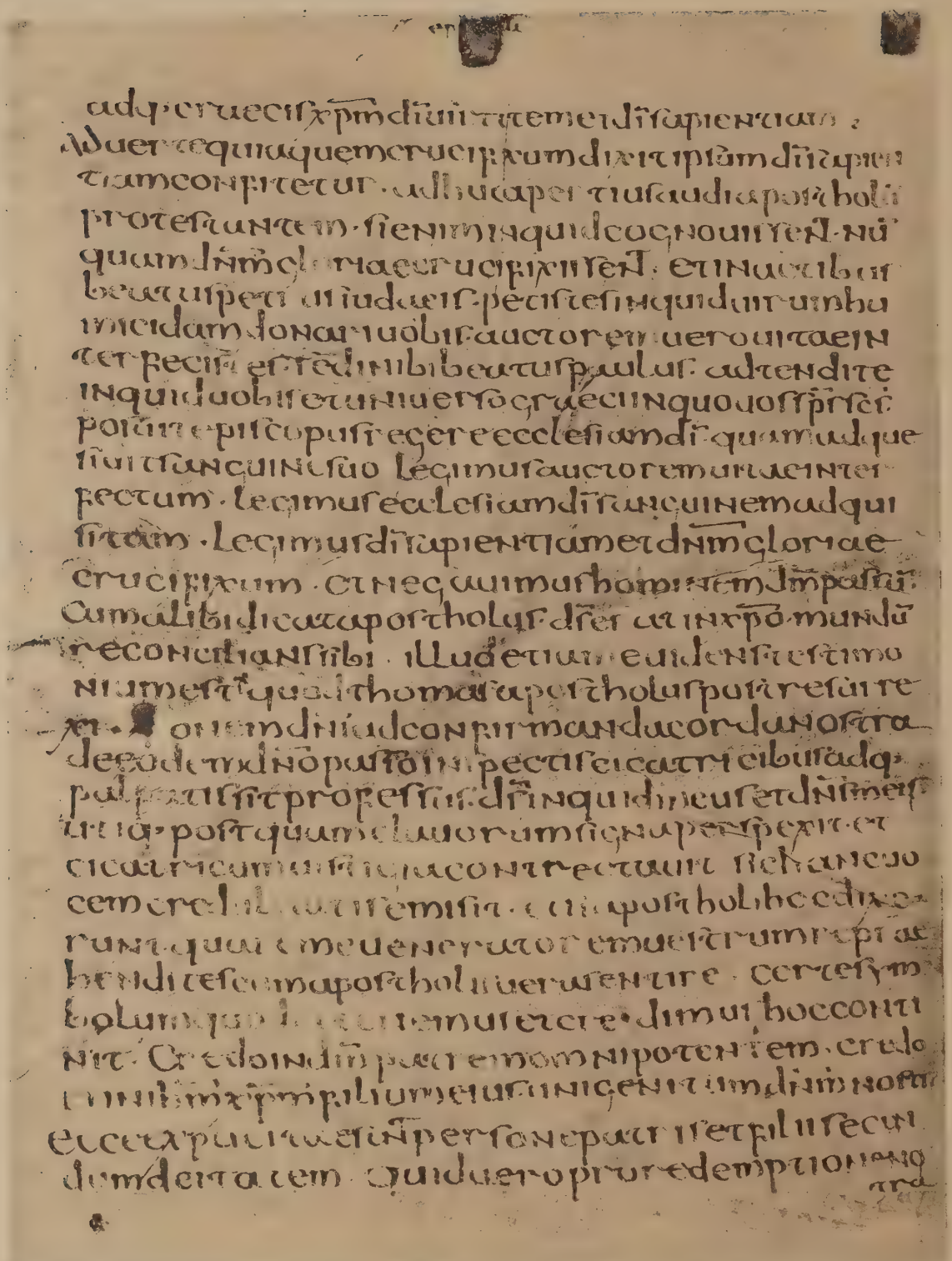
DOMNO SEMPER SUO MAXIMO EPISCOPO CYPRIANVS EPISCOPVS

Peruenit ad paruitatem meam quod beatitudo uestra inpiritiam nostram iudicet esse culpandam eo quod deum hominem passum dixerim. sed si uel apostholi sententias adtendites, uel patrum testimonia consideratis, uel etiam symbuli textum diligenter scrutari iubetes, puto quod et ipsi hoc iuxta fidem rectam quod fatemur debeatis recipere et praedicare, quia sicut credimus ex uirgine deum natum et ipsum hominem deum factum, ita et credimus crucifixum, dicente apostholo, ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia deus benedictus in saecula, et post aliquanta istum quem deum esse benedictum in saecula dixit, audi quid de eo credendum doceat, si enim confite⟨a⟩ris inquid in ore tuo dominum Iesum et credediris in corde tuo quia deus illum suscitauit a mortuis saluus eris utique quem dominum ore confiteris corde suscitatum a mortuis credere omnino iuberis. et alibi, Iudaei signa petunt Graeci sapientiam quaerunt, nos uero praedicamus Christum Iesum et hunc crucifixum, ipsis uero uocatis Iudaeis

Cod. Colon. 212 (Darmstad. 2326) fol. 113 recto.



Cod. Colon. 212 (Darmstad. 2326), fol. 113 .



Cod. Colon. 212 (Darmstad. 2326), fol. 113v.

## PLATE II.

ep[isto]le.

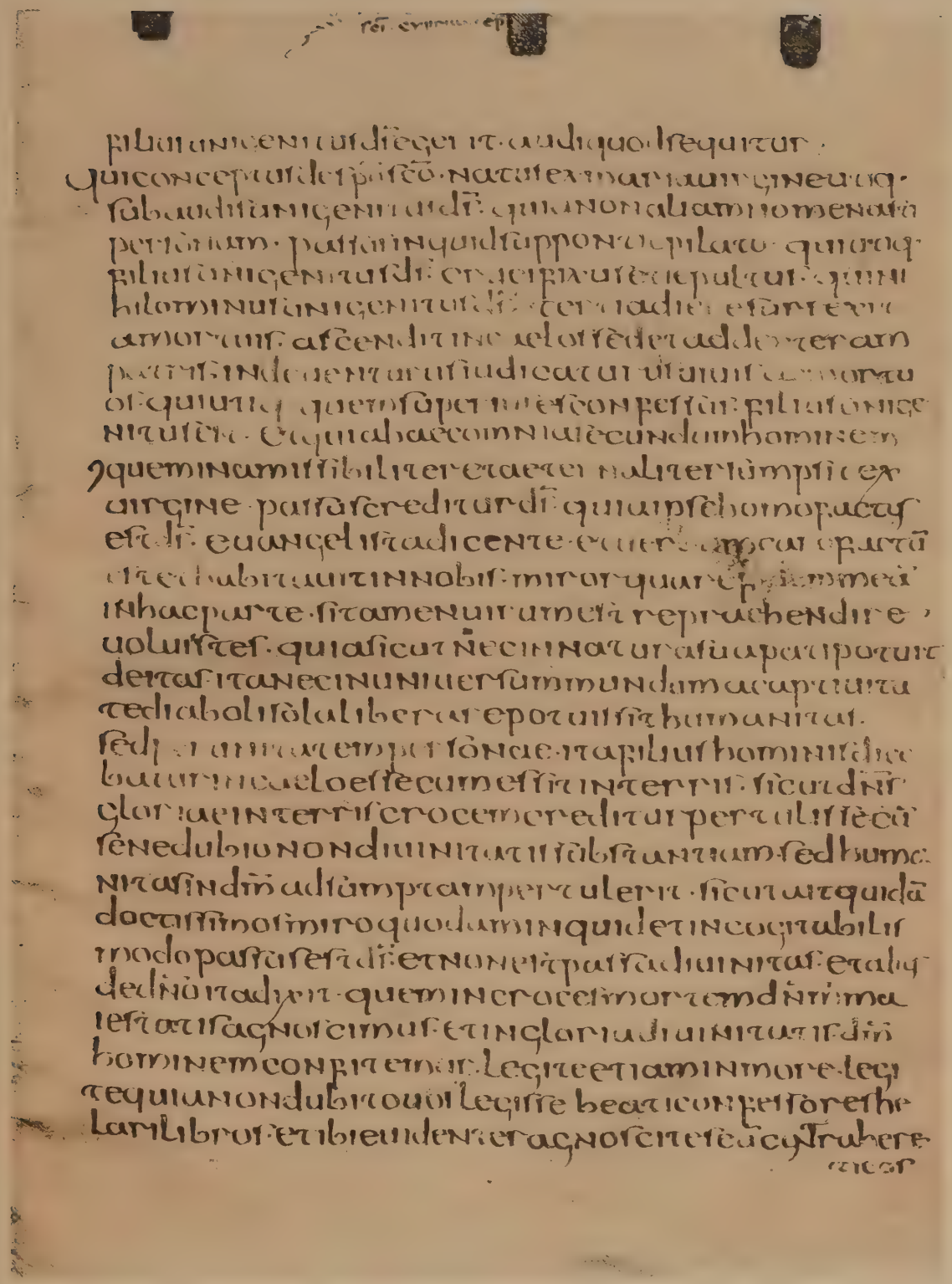
adque Graecis Christum dei uirtutem et dei sapientiam. aduerte quia quem crucifixum dixit ipsum dei sapientiam confitetur. adhuc apertius audi apostholum protestantem. si enim inquid cognouissent, numquam dominum gloriae crucifixissent. et in Actibus beatus Petrus Iudaeis, petistes inquid uirum humicidam donari uobis, auctorem uero uitae interfecistes. sed inibi beatus Paulus, adtendite inquid uobis et uniuerso graeci[1] in quo nos spiritus sanctus posuit episcopus regere ecclesiam dei, quam adquesiuit sanguine suo. legimus auctorem uitae interfectum, legimus ecclesiam dei sanguinem adquisitam, legimus dei sapientiam et dominum gloriae crucifixum, et negauimus hominem deum passum, cum alibi dicat apostholus, deus erat in Christo mundum reconcilians sibi. illud etiam euidens testimonium est quod Thomas apostholus post resurrexionem domini ad confirmanda corda nostra de eodem domino passo inspectis cicatricibus adque palpatis sit professus, deus inquid meus et dominus meus. utique postquam clauorum signa perspexit, et cicatricum uistigia contrectauit, sic hanc uocem credulitatis emisit. et si apostholi hoc dixerunt quare me ueneratorem uestrum reprae-
hendites cum apostholis uera sentire. certe symbolum quod et tenemus et credimus hoc continit, Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem credo et in Iesum Christum filium eius, unigenitum dominum nostrum. ecce explicitae sunt persone patris et filii secundum deitatem. quid uero pro redemptione nostra

[1] leg. *gregi.*

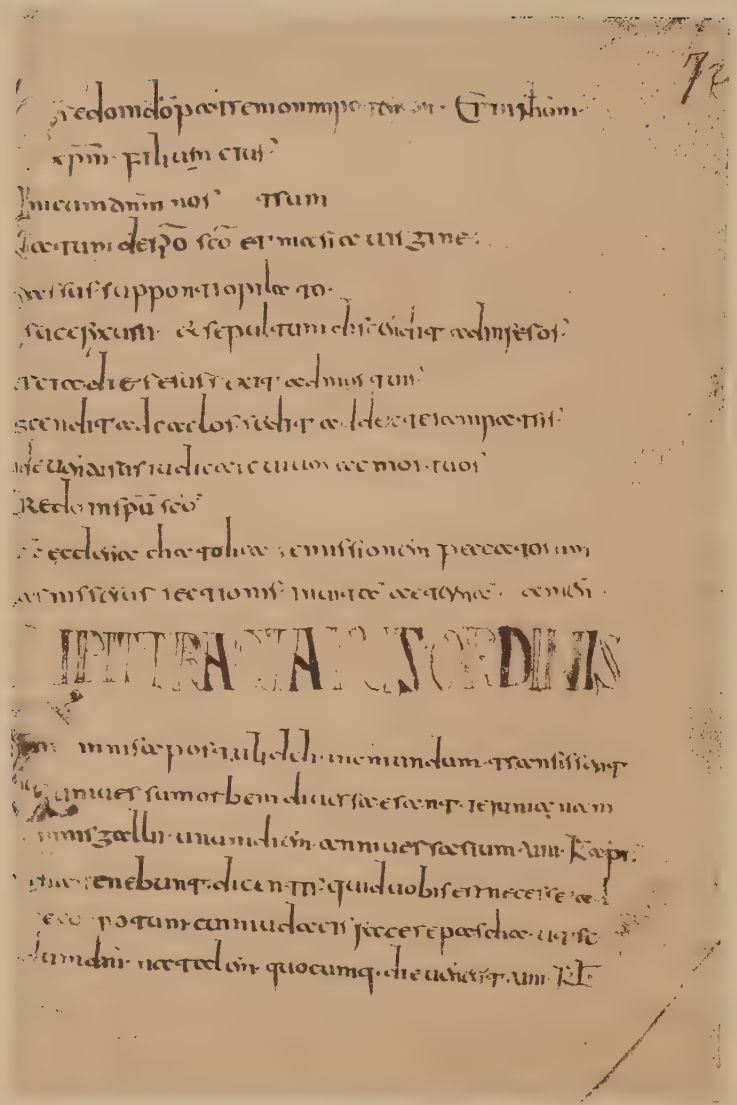
Cod. Colon. 212 (Darmstad. 2326) fol. 113 verso.

filius unigenitus deus egerit, audi quod sequitur.
Qui conceptus de spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria uirgine utique
subaudis unigenitus deus, quia non aliam nomenasti
personam, passus inquid sup Pontio Pilato, qui utique
filius unigenitus deus, crucifixus et sepultus, qui ni-
hilominus unigenitus deus, tertia die resurrexit
a mortuis, ascendit in caelos sedet ad dexteram
patris, inde uenturus iudicaturus uiuis ac mortu-
os, qui utique quem superius es confessus, filius unige-
nitus est. et quia haec omnia secundum hominem
quem inamissibiliter et aeternaliter sumpsit ex
uirgine, passus creditur deus, quia ipse homo factus
est deus, euangelista dicente, et uerbum caro factum
est et habitauit in nobis, miror quare fidem meam
in hac parte, si tamen uirum est repraehendire
uoluistes, quia sicut nec in natura sua pati potuit
deitas, ita nec in uniuersum mundum a captiuita-
te diaboli sola liberare potuissit humanitas.
sed per unitatem personae, ita filius hominis dice-
batur in caelo esse cum essit in terris. sicut dominus
gloriae in terris crocem creditur pertulisse cum
sene dubio non diuinitatis substantiam, sed huma-
nitas in deum adsumptam pertulerit. sicut ait quidam
doctissimos miro quodam inquid et incogitabilis
modo passus est deus, et non est passa diuinitas, et alius
de domino ita dixit, quem in croces mortem dominum ma-
iestatis agnoscimus, et in gloria diuinitatis deum
hominem confitemur, legite etiam inmo relegi-
te quia non dubito uos legisse beati confessores He-
lari libros, et ibi euidenter agnoscites eum contra here-
ticos

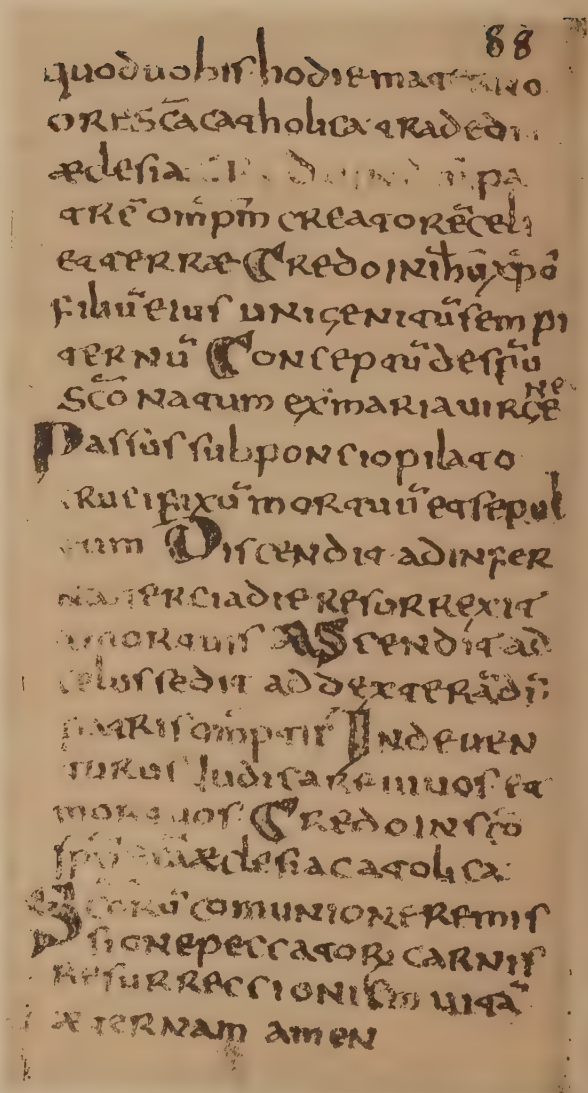
Cod. Colon. 212. (Darmstad. 2326) fol. 114 recto.



Cod. Colon. 212 (Darmstad. 2326), fol. 114



Cod. Bernensis N. 645, fol. 72



Cod. Paris. lat. 13246, fol. 88

PLATE IVA.

Credo in deo patrem omnipotentem. Et in Iesum
Christum, filium eius,
Unicum dominum nostrum,
Natum de spirito sancto et Maria uirgine,
Passus sup Pontio Pilato,
Crucefixum, et sepultum discendit ad inferos,
Tercia die resurrexit ad mortuis,
A]scendit ad caelos, sedit ad dexteram patris,
I]nde uenturus iudicare uiuos ac mortuos.
Credo in spiritu sancto,
Sancta ecclesia chatolica remissionem peccatorum,
Carnis resurrectionis, in uitam aeternam. amen.

# I]NCIPIT TRACTATVS ORDINIS

Cum omnis apostuli de hunc mundum transissent
p]er universum orbem diuersa erant ieiunia nam
]omnis Gallii unum diem anniuersarium viii kal. apr.
p]ascha tenebunt, dicentis, quid nobis est necesse ad
lu]nae conpotum cum Iudaeis facere pascha, ut se-
cu]ndum domini natalem quocumque die uenerit viii. kal.

Cod. Bernensis N. 645 fol. 72 recto.

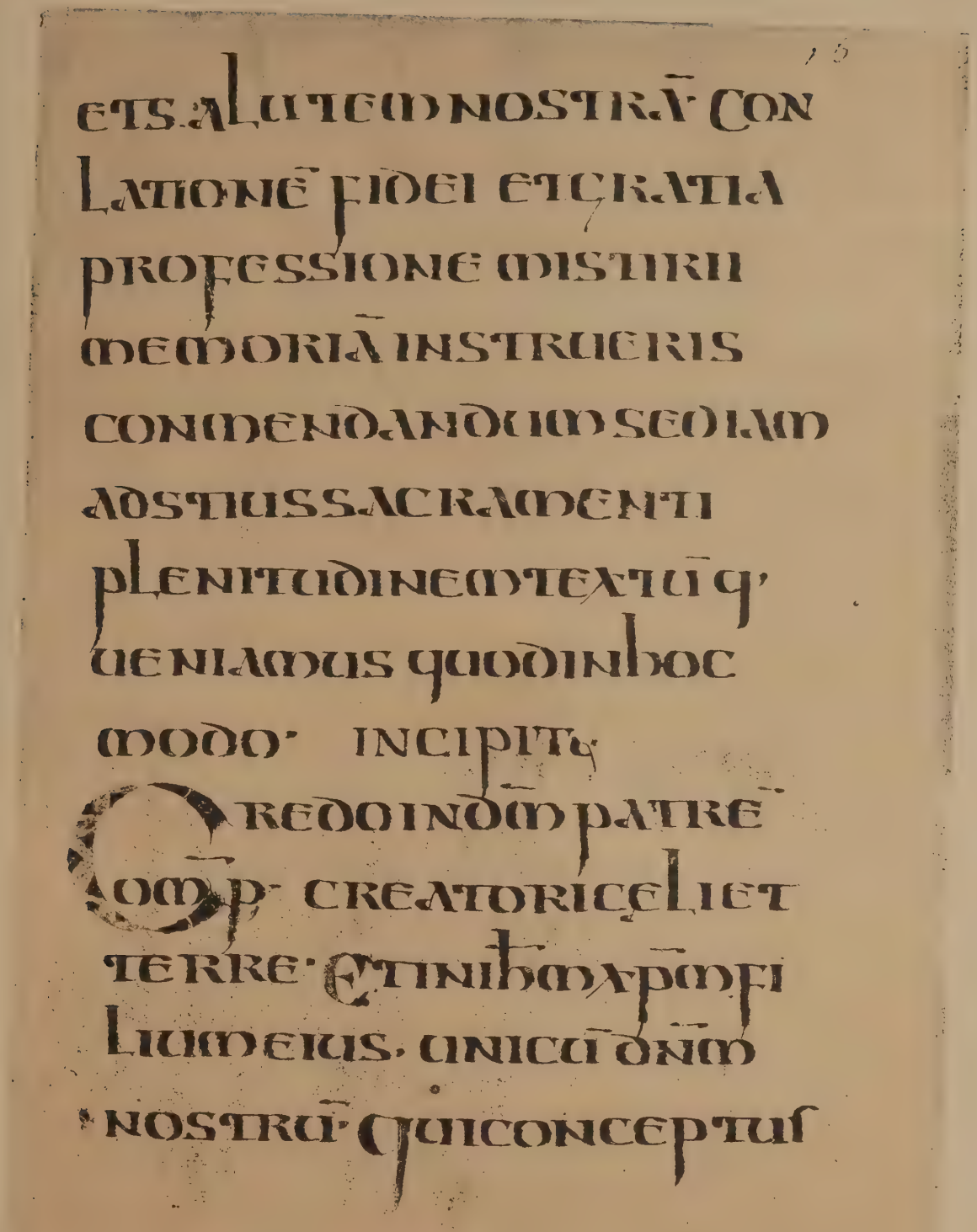
PLATE IVB.

(audite symbolum | )
quod uobis hodie materno
ore sancta catholica tradedit
aeclesia **Credo in deum** pa-
trem omnipotentem creatorem celi
et terrae Credo in Iesu Christo
filium eius unigenitum sempi-
ternum Conceptum de spiritu
sancto natum ex Maria uirgene
Passus sub Poncio Pilato
crucifixum mortuum et sepul-
tum Discendit ad infer-
na tercia die resurrexit
a mortuis Ascendit ad
celos sedit ad dexteram dei
patris omnipotentis Inde uen-
turus iudicare uiuos et
mortuos Credo in sancto
spiritu sancta aeclesia catolica
Sanctorum comunione remis-
sione peccatorum carnis
resurreccioniem uitam
aeternam amen.

Cod. Paris. lat. 13246 fol. 88 recto.

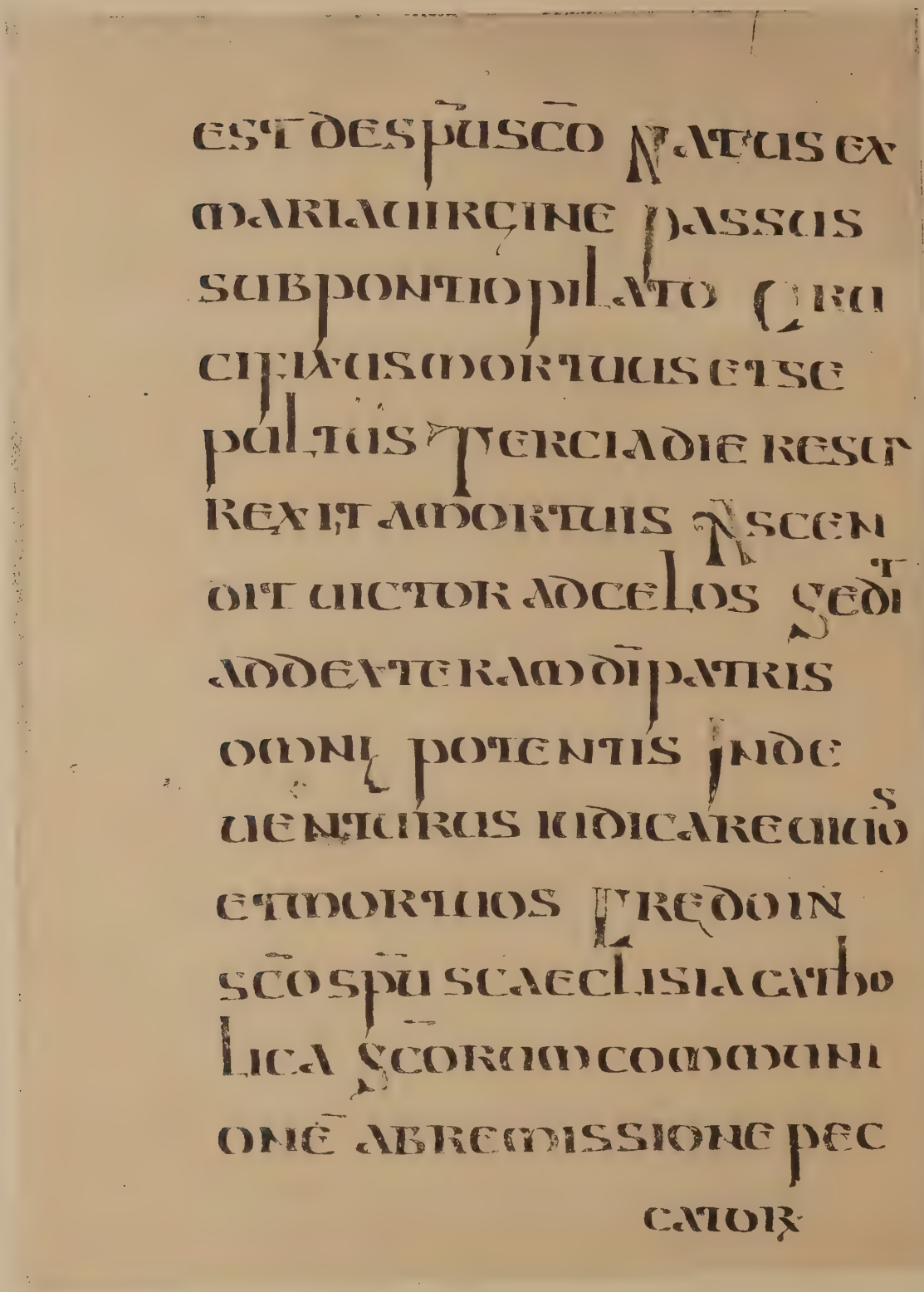
et salutem nostram con-
lationem fidei et gratia
professione mistirii
memoriam instrueris
conmendandum sed iam
ad istius sacramenti
plenitudinem textumque
ueniamus quod in hoc
modo. incipit.
Credo in deum patrem
omnipotentem creatori cęli et
terre. Et in Iesum Christum fi-
lium eius, unicum dominum
nostrum. Qui conceptus

Cod. Vat. Pal. 493 fol. 16 recto.



ets. aluted nostrā con
latione fidei et gratia
professione mistrii
memoriā instrueris
commendandum seo iam
ad stus sacramenti
plenitudine mtextū q'
ueniamus quod in hoc
modo' incipit'
Credo in dm patrē
om̄p' creatorice liet
terre' Et in hm xp̄m fi
lium eius. unicū dn̄m
nostrū' Qui conceptus

Cod. Palat. lat. 493, fol. 16

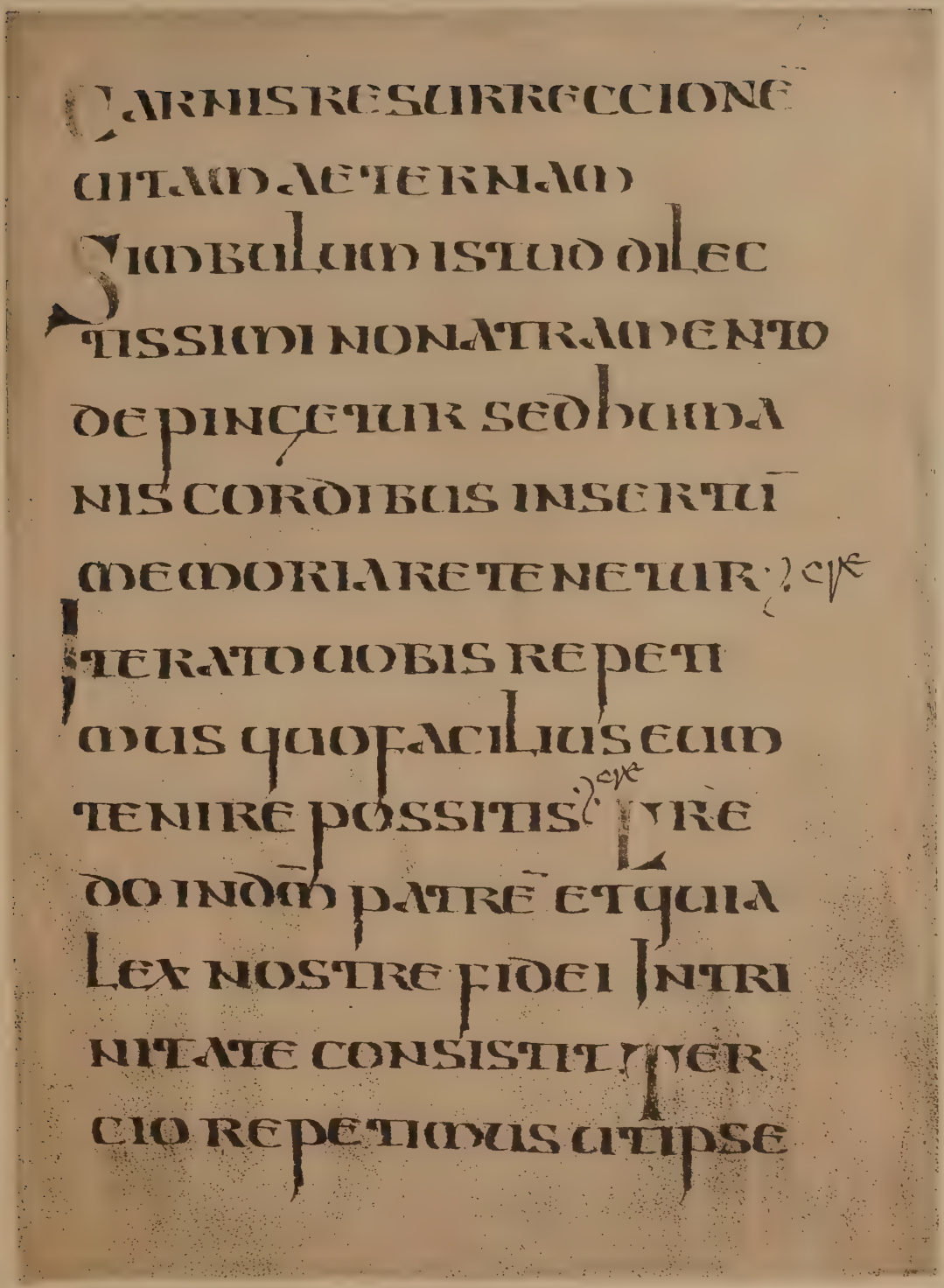

est despūsco natus ex
maria virgine passus
sub pontio pilato cru
cifixus mortuus et se
pultus tercia die resur
rexit a mortuis ascen
dit ad celos sedet
ad dexteram dī patris
omni potentis inde
venturus iudicare uiuos
et mortuos credo in
scō spū scam ecclesia catho
lica scorum communio
nē abremissione pec
catorū

est de spiritu sancto Natus ex
Maria uirgine Passus
sub Pontio Pilato Cru-
cifixus mortuus et se-
pultus Tercia die resur-
rexit a mortuis Ascen-
dit uictor ad celos Sedit
ad dexteram dei patris
omnipotentis Inde
uenturus iudicare uiuos
et mortuos Credo in
sancto spiritu sancta eclisia catho-
lica sanctorum communi-
onem abremissione pec-
catorum

Cod. Vat. Pal. 493 fol. 16 verso.

Carnis resurreccionem
uitam aeternam.
Simbulum istud dilec-
tissimi non atramento
depingetur sed huma-
nis cordibus insertum
memoria retenetur. ⟨Cre[do]⟩
Iterato uobis repeti-
mus quo facilius eum
tenire possitis ⟨Cre[do]⟩ Cre-
do in deum patrem et quia
lex nostre fidei in tri-
nitate consistit. Ter-
cio repetimus ut ipse

Cod. Vat. Pal. 493 fol. 17 recto.


CARNIS RESURRECCIONE
QUAM AETERNAM
SIMBULUM ISTUD DILEC
TISSIMI NON ATRAMENTO
DEPINGETUR SED UNDA
NIS CORDIBUS INSERTUM
MEMORIA RETINETUR ⁊ cre
ITERATO UOBIS REPETI
MUS QUO FACILIUS EUM
TENERE POSSITIS ⁊ cre
DO IN DM PATRE ET QUIA
LEX NOSTRE FIDEI IN TRI
NITATE CONSISTIT TER
CIO REPETIMUS ATIPSE

Cod. Palat. lat. 493, fol. 17

181.

uenerabil parche lauare baptizmatis renatr centes sic rei
ois meminimini fidelis munus infantie exp̃o dño nr̃o ꝓficere
quiuuit et regnat insecla sclorũ Et die ꝑpact Simboli

&die
ꝓfessione
symboli.

Dilectissimi nob accepturi sacrãmta baptismatis et in nouã
creaturã sũ ipse ꝑ eandi fidem quã credentes iustificandi estis
toto corde concepiæ & animis uiis uestrã conuersationem mu
tatis addm̃ quitimentiũ uestrarũ inluminat. Accedite sus ci
pientes euangelica symbuli sacrãmta adño inspirati ũ a apostol
institutum cuius pauca quidem uerba sunt sed magna misteria
sc̃s etenim sps qui magistr ecclesiæ istos dictauit breui eloquio
tali brietate salutifera condit fidem utq; credendum nob
est semp q; ꝓficiendũ nec intelligentiã possit lectore nec
memoriã fatigare. Intentat itaq; animis symbulum discentes,
& quid uobis sic accipimus; tradimus; Nonalicui materiæ q; corrum
pi potest sed puginis cordis uis scribite. Confessio itaq; fidei
quam suscipitis hoc incipit exordium. Et tis dicens acolit

&dicens
acolitus

unũ ex ipsis infantib; mascolo insinistro brachio et in rogat
ei prbr qualingua confitet dñm nr̃m ihm̃ xp̃m. Rsp̃d acolitus
latina. Iterũ dic prbr adnuncia fidem ipsorũ qualit credunt
Et tenens acolitus manum sup caput pueri dic symbulũ hoc de
cantando. ¶¶¶ Credo indm̃ patrẽ omptm̃ creatorem celi
et trã. et in ihm̃ xp̃m filium ei; unicũ dñm nr̃m; Qui con
ceptus est de sp̃u sc̃o natus ex maria uirgine, Passus sub
pontio pilato crucifixus mortuus et sepultus, Discendit
ad infernã tia die resurrexit a mortuis ascendit ad cæ
lus sedit ad dexteram dei patris omptis, Inde uenturus iu
dicare uiuos et mortuus, Credo in sp̃m sc̃m. sc̃a ecclesiã
catholicã sc̃oꝝ communionẽ remissionẽ peccatoꝝ carnis
resurrectionẽ. uitã etnã am̃,
acolitus tenens similit femi. et in rogat ei prbr qualingua

uenerabilis paschę lauare baptismatis renascentes sicut sancti
omnes meriamini fidelis munus infantiae a Christo domino nostro perficere
qui uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum ET DICIT PRAEFACTIONEM SIMBOLI. et dicit praefacione synboli

Dilectissimi nobis accepturi sacramenta baptismatis et in nouam
creaturam sancti spiritus procreandi fidem quam credentes iustificandi estis
toto corde concepite et animis uestris ueram conuersationem mu-
tatis ad deum qui timentium uestrarum est inluminator accedite susci-
pientes euangelici symbuli sacramentum a domino inspiratum ab apostolis
institutum cuius pauca quidem uerba sunt sed magna misteria.
sanctus etęnim spiritus qui magistris ęcclesiae ista dictauit tali eloquio
tali briuitate salutiferam condit fidem ut quod credendum nobis
est semperque proficiendum nec intelligentiam possit latere nec
memoriam fatigare, Intentis itaque animis symbulum discites,
et quod uobis sicut accipimus tradimus non alicui materiae que corrum-
pi potest sed paginis cordis uestris scribite. confessio itaque fidei
quam suscipitis hoc incoatur exordium ET TENENS ACOLITVS et tenens acolitus
unum ex ipsis infantibus mascolo in sinistro brachyo et interrogat
ei presbyter qua lingua confitetur dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, Respondit acolitus
Latina. iterum dicit presbyter adnuncia fidem ipsorum qualiter credunt.
et tenens acolitus manum super caput pueri dicit symbulum hoc de-
cantando, Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem, creatore cęli
et terrę, et in Iesum Christum filium ęius unicum dominum nostrum, Qui con-
ceptus est de spiritu sancto natus ex Maria uirgine, Passus sub
Pontio Pilato crucefixus mortuus et sepultus, Discendit
ad inferna tertia dię resurrexit a mortuis ascendit ad cę-
lus sedit ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis, Inde uenturus iu-
dicare uiuos et mortuus, Credo in spiritum sanctum sanctam ęcclesiam
catholicam sanctorum conmunionem remissionem peccatorum carnis
resurrectionem. uitam ęternam. amen. [ITERVM ALTER] iterum alter
acolitus tenens similiter feminam et interrogat ei presbyter qua lingua

Cod. Paris. lat. No. 12048 fol. 181 recto.

seruitio tuo impleatur auxilium per SEQVITVR BENEDICTIO

Domine sanctę pater omnipotens aeterne deus spiritalium sanctificator, te suppliciter deprecamur ut ad hoc misterium humilitatis nostrę respicere digneris super has abluendis et uiuficandis hominibus praeparatas angelorum sancti< >tatis emittas quo peccatis uite prioris abluti reatuque deterso purum sancto spiritu habitaculum regeneratis pro currit per dominum.

Exorcizo te creatura aque in nomine dei patris omnipotentis et in caritatem Iesu Christi fili ęius et spiritus sancti, Exorcizo te ut omnis uirtus aduersarii omnis incursio Satanę et omnis fantasma hęradicare et effugare ab hac creatura aquę, ut fiat fons salientis in uitam ęternam et qui ex ea baptizatus fuęrit fiat templum dei uiui et spiritus sanctus habitit in ęo, in remissionem omnium peccatorum per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum qui uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuus et saeculum per ignem et insufflat in iiii$^{or}$ uitibus inde mittit crisma in modum crucis in ipsa aqua. et cummiscitat eam cum ipsa aqua, et interrogat presbyter dicit illi

Credis in deum patrem omnipotentem. respondet, credo. iterum dicit, credis et in Iesum Christum filium ęius, unicum dominum nostrum qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria uirgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus mortuus et sepultus discendit ad inferna tercia dię, resurrexit a mortuis ascendit ad cęlus sedit ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis inde uenturu[s] iudicare uiuos et mortuos. respondet, credo. et iterum dicit, credis in spiritum sanctum, sanctam ęcclęsiam chatolicam, sanctorum conmunionem remissionem peccatorum carnis resurrectionem uitam ęternam. respondet, credo, et excepit ęum in manus suas et baptizat ęum sub trinam mersionem, tantum sanctam trinitatem simel inuocans ita dicendo.

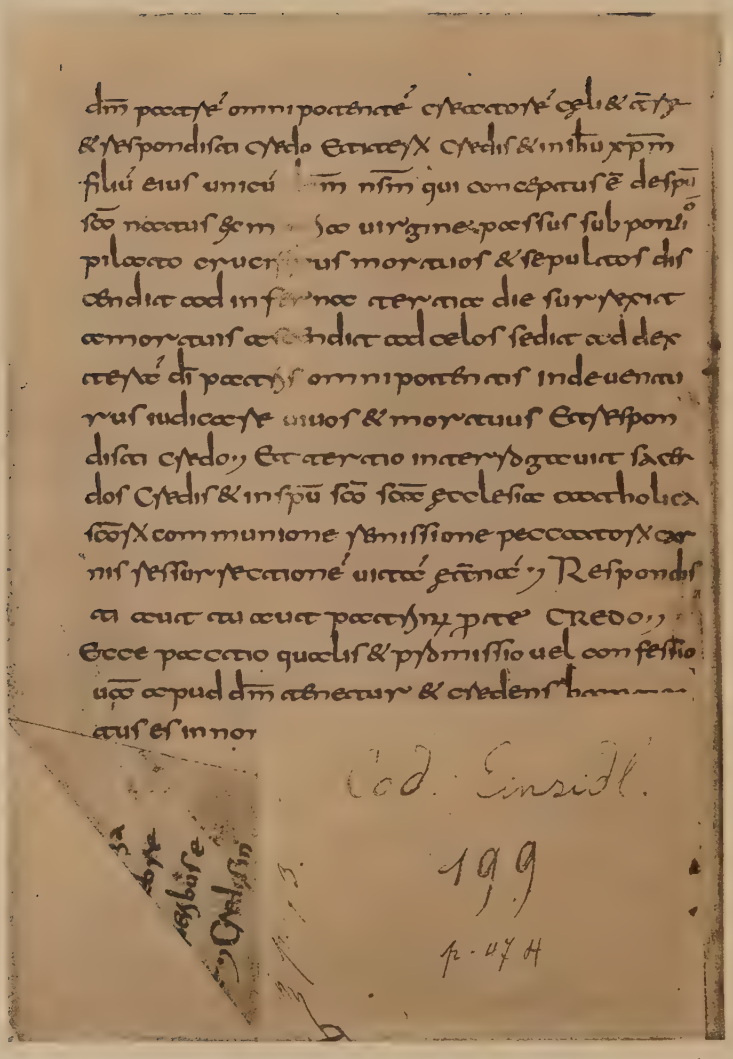
Cod. Paris. lat. No. 12048 fol. 191 verso.

seruitiotuo impleat auxiliūp Sequit. bñc.

Oñe scē pat ompr ætnedr spī.taliū scīpicat. tesupplicēt
depcamur ut.adhoc misteriū humilitatir nre respicere
digneris supha.s abluendis &mundificandir hominib; ppa
ratar angelor.x sci; tatir emittar quopeccatir uite
pyoyr abluti reatuq; dereso purū scō rpu habitaculum
regenerationis pro currit pdnm.

Exorcizote creaturaaq; innōmi dipatris omptir &in
cayitatem ihū xpi filii eiur etsps scī; Exorcizote
ut omr uirtur adversarii oms incursio satanę
&omr fantasma henadicare &effugare abhac cre
atura aque ut fiat fons salientis inuitā æternam
&qui ex.a baptizatur fugyt fiat templū dī viui &sps sēs
habitit in eo; inremissionē omniū peccatorū pdnm
nm ihū xpm qui uenturus ē iudicare uiuos et mortuos
&retm signam et insupphat in iiii uirtib; Indeinit
tit crisma inmodū crucis inipsa aquav Oteium
misceat eā cūipsa aqua Otin troq; ut pbā dñi illi

Credir indm patrē omptem R/ pd. credo iaynū dicit.
Credis etin ihm xpm filiū eiur unicū dnm nm qui con
ceptus ē de spū scō natus exmaria virgine: passus sub
pontio pilato crucifixur mortuur et sepultur dis
cendit adinferna ttia die resurrex amortuis ascen
dit æcelcelus sedet addexterā dī patris omptir: indeuenturus
iudicare uiuos et mortuos R/ pd. credo. et in spū sēū dī.
Credir inspm scōm scām ecclesiā chatolicā. scōrū conmu
nionē remissionē peccatorū carnis resurrectionē
vitam æna; R/ pd. credo. et exceptit eū inmanus suas
et baptizat eum sub trinā mersionē. tantis scm. ihūnit
simel inuocans ita dicendo.




Cod. Einsidlensis 199, p. 474

# PLATE X.

Credis in |
deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem cęli et terrę
et respondisti credo Et iterum credis et in Iesu Christum
filium eius unicum dominum nostrum qui conceptus est de spiritu
sancto natus ex Maria uirgine passus sub Pontio
Pilato crucifixus mortuos et sepultos dis-
cendit ad inferna tertia die surrexit
a mortuis ascendit ad celos sedit ad dex-
teram dei patris omnipotentis inde uentu-
rus iudicare uiuos et mortuus et respon-
disti credo. Et tertio interrogauit sacer-
dos credis et in spiritu sancto sancta ęcclesia catholica
sanctorum communione remissione peccatorum car-
nis resurrectionem uitam ęternam. Respondis-
ti aut tu aut patrinus pro te credo.
Ecce pactio qualis et promissio uel confessio
uestra apud deum tenetur et credens b[aptiza]
tus es in no[mine *etc.*]

Cod. Einsidlen. 199 fol. 237.

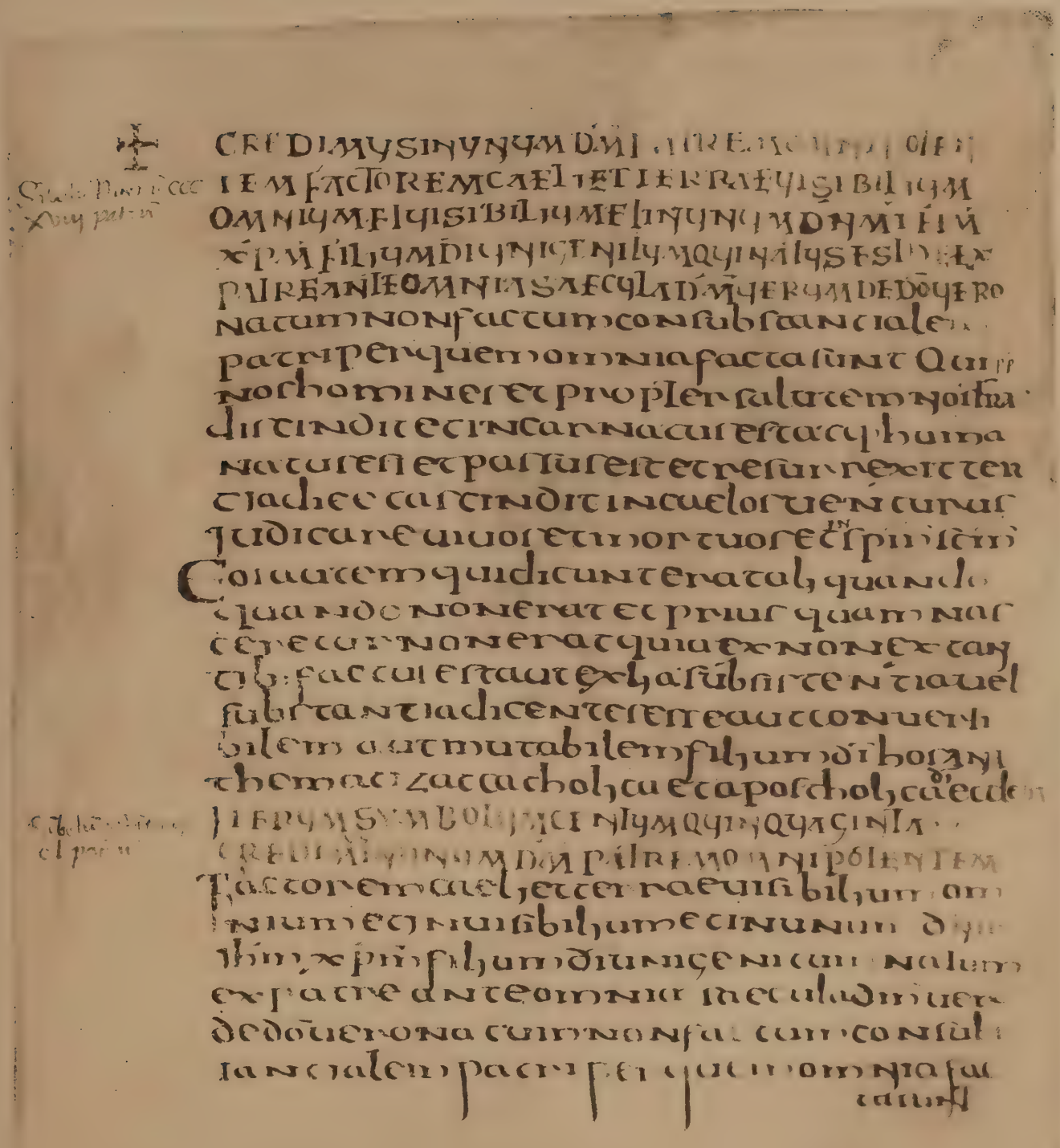
Simbolum Nicenum ccc xviii patrum

CREDIMVS IN VNVM DEVM PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM FACTOREM CAELI ET TERRAE VISIBILIVM OMNIVM ET [IN]VISIBILIVM ET IN VNVM DOMINVM IESVM CHRISTVM FILIVM DEI VNIGENITVM QVI NATVS EST DE EX PATRE ANTE OMNIA SAECVLA DEVM VERVM DE DEO VERO natum non factum consubstantialem patri per quem omnia facta sunt Qui ⟨propter⟩ nos homines et propter salutem nostra⟨m⟩ discindit et incarnatus est atque humanatus est et passus est et resurrexit tertia die et ascindit in caelos uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos et ⟨in⟩ spiritum sanctum Eos autem qui dicunt erat aliquando quando non erat et prius quam nasceretur non erat quia ex non extantibus factus est aut ex [a]lia subsistentia uel substantia dicentes esse aut conuertibilem aut mutabilem filium dei hos anathematizat catholica et apostholica ⟨dei⟩ ecclesia

Simbolum Constantinopolitanum cl. patrum.

ITERVM SYMBOLVM CENTVM QVINQVAGINTA. CREDIMVS IN VNVM DEVM PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM Factorem caeli et terrae uisibilium omnium et inuisibilium et in unum dominum Iesum Christum filium dei unigenitum natum ex patre ante omnia saecula deum uerum de deo uero natum non factum consubstantialem patri per quem omnia facta sunt

Codex Vat. lat. 1322 fol. 153 verso.



Cod. Vatic. lat. 1322, fol. 153 v.

Cui propter nos homines et salutem nostram
dicam distinditet incarnatus est de spu
sco et maria uirgine et homo factus est
et crucifixus est pro nobis sub pontio
pilato et sepultus est et resurrexit ter
tia die secundum scripturas et ascendit ad dexte
ram patris sedet uenturus est cum glo
ria judicare uiuos et mortuos cuius regni
non erit finis et in spm scm dnm
et uiuificantem ex patre procedentem
Cum patre et filio adorandum et con
glorificandum qui locutus est per scos pro
phetas Unam catholicam et apostho
licam ecclesiam confitemur unum
baptisma in remissionem peccatorum
expectamus resurrectionem mortuo
rum et uitam futuri saeculi Amen Sufficere
quidem ad plenam cognitionem pie
catis et confirmationem sapientis hoc
et salutare diuinae gratiae Symbolum
DE PATRE ET FILIO ET SPU SCO PERFECTIONEM docet
et nihil humanae fidei uel traditi
entibus praesentat Sed quoniam quae
rit aliquis reprobare praedicationem co
rum uel per proprias haereses nouis uo
luerunt hi quidem mysterium
quod pro nobis est dispensationis

Qui propter nos homines et salutem nostram discindit et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto et Maria uirgine et humanatus est et crucifixus est pro nobis sup Pontio Pilato et sepultus est et resurrexit tertia die ascindit in caelos sedit[1] ad dexteram patris iterum uenturus est cum gloria iudicare uiuos et mortuos cuius regni non erit finis et in spiritum sanctum dominum et uiuificantem ex patre procidentem[2] Cum patre et filio adorandum et conglorificandum qui loc[ut]us est per sanctos prophetas in unam catholicam et apostholicam ecclesiam confitemur unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum expectamus resurrectionem mortuorum et uitam futuri saeculi amen Sufficeret quidem ad plenam cognitionem pietatis et confirmationem sapiens hoc et salutare diuinae gratiae symbolum DE PATRE ENIM ET FILIO ET SPIRITV SANCTO PERFECTIONEM DOCET et domini humanationem fideliter accipientibus repraesentat Sed quoniam hii qui ueritatis reprobare praedicationem conantes per proprias heresis nouas uoces genuerunt hii quidem mysterium quod pro nobis est domini dispensationis

[1] *sedet* corr. [2] *procedentem* corr.

Cod. Vat. lat. 1322 fol. 154 recto.

PLATE XIII.

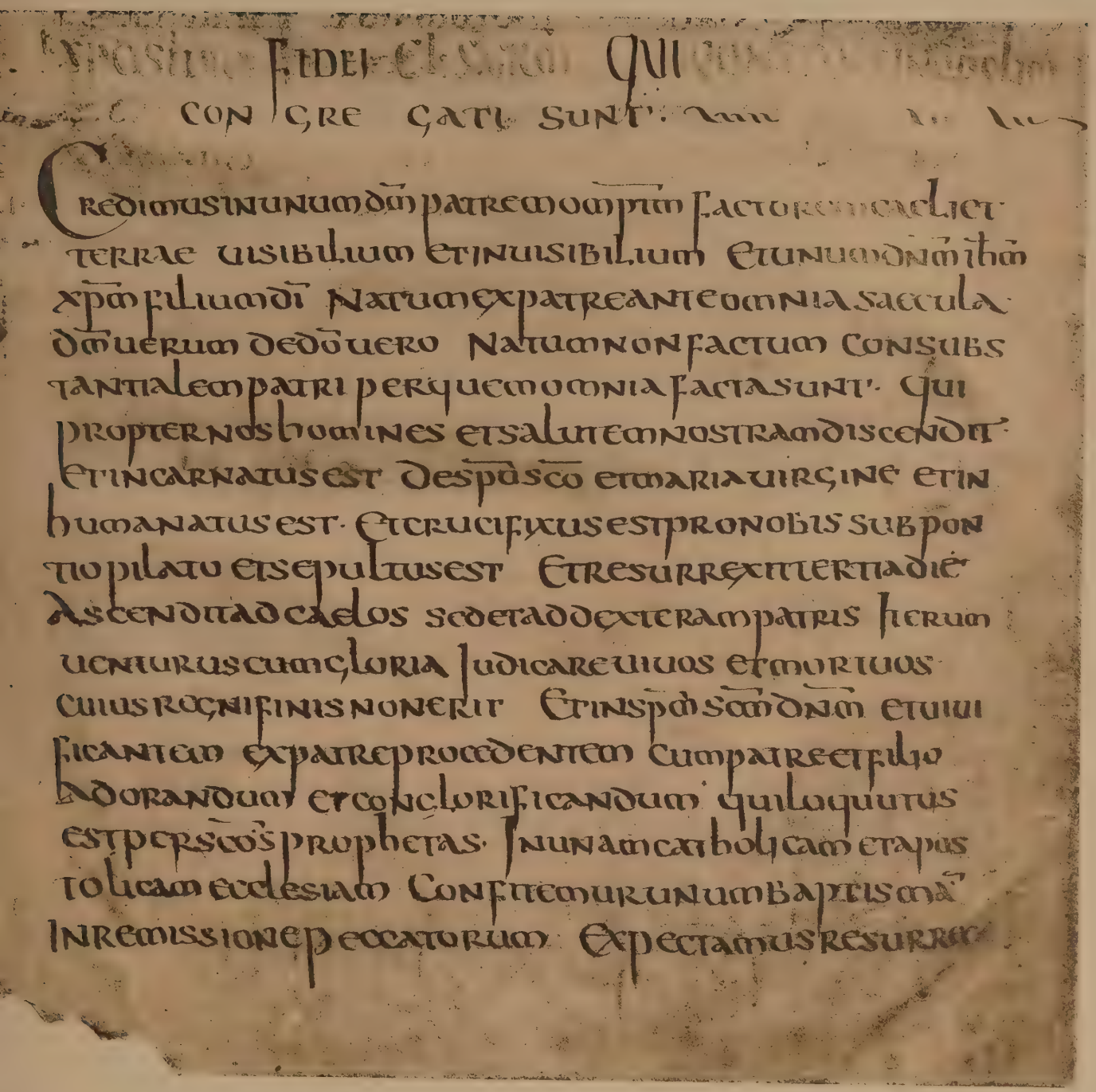
# EXPOSITIO FIDEI CL. SANCTORVM QVI CONSTANTINOPOLIM CONGREGATI SVNT.

v. Credimus in unum deum patrem omnipotentem Factorem caeli et terrae uisibilium et inuisibilium Et in unum dominum Iesum Christum filium dei Natum ex patre ante omnia saecula, deum uerum de deo uero Natum non factum consubstantialem patri per quem omnia facta sunt, Qui propter nos homines et salutem nostram discendit, Et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto et Maria uirgine et inhumanatus est, Et crucifixus est pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus est Et resurrexit tertia die Ascendit ad caelos sedet ad dexteram patris Iterum uenturus cum gloria Iudicare uiuos et mortuos, cuius regni finis non erit Et in spiritum sanctum dominum et uiuificantem ex patre procedentem cum patre et filio adorandum et conglorificandum qui loquutus est per sanctos prophetas, In unam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam Confitemur unum baptismam in remissione peccatorum Expectamus resurrec- |

tione mortuorum uitam futuri saeculi amen.

v]i NOMINA EPISCOPORVM QVI SUBSCRIPSERVNT CL. EPISCOPI QVI IN EODEM.

Cod. Tolos. 364 (I 63) fol. 4 recto et verso.



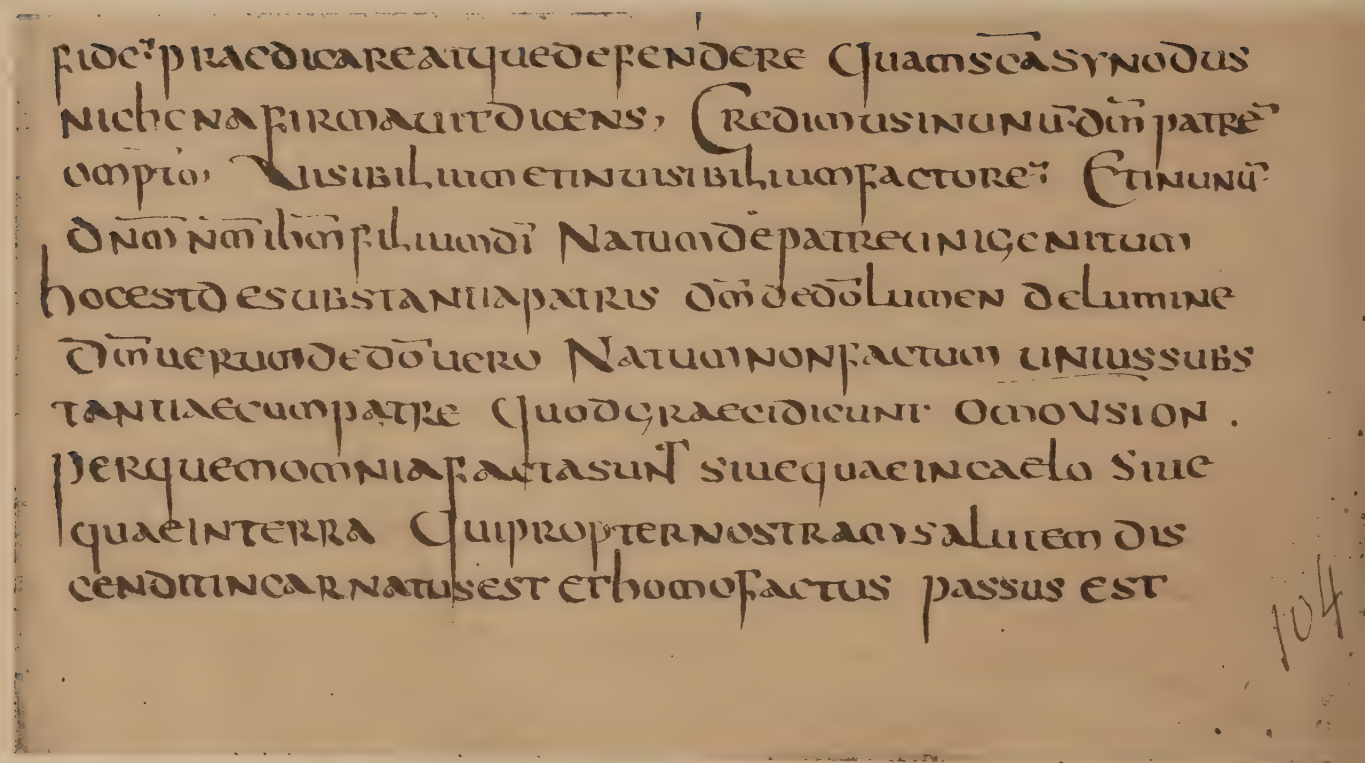
FIDEI CATH. QUI
CONGREGATI SUNT

CREDIMUS IN UNUM DM PATREM OMPTM FACTOREM CAELI ET
TERRAE UISIBILIUM ET INUISIBILIUM ET UNUM DNM IHM
XPM FILIUM DI NATUM EX PATRE ANTE OMNIA SAECULA
DM UERUM DE DO UERO NATUM NON FACTUM CONSUBS
TANTIALEM PATRI PER QUEM OMNIA FACTA SUNT. QUI
PROPTER NOS HOMINES ET SALUTEM NOSTRAM DISCENDIT
ET INCARNATUS EST DE SPO SCO ET MARIA UIRGINE ET IN
HUMANATUS EST. ET CRUCIFIXUS EST PRO NOBIS SUB PON
TIO PILATO ET SEPULTUS EST ET RESURREXIT TERTIA DIE
ASCENDIT AD CAELOS SEDET AD DEXTERAM PATRIS IT ERUM
UENTURUS CUM GLORIA IUDICARE UIUOS ET MORTUOS
CUIUS RGNI FINIS NON ERIT ET IN SPM SCM DNM ET UIUI
FICANTEM EX PATRE PROCEDENTEM CUM PATRE ET FILIO
ADORANDUM ET CONGLORIFICANDUM QUI LOCUTUS
EST PER SCOS PROPHETAS. IN UNAM CATHOLICAM ET APOS
TOLICAM ECCLESIAM CONFITEMUR UNUM BAPTISMA
IN REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM EXPECTAMUS RESURRC

NONEM MORTUORUM UITAM FUTURI SAECULI AMEN

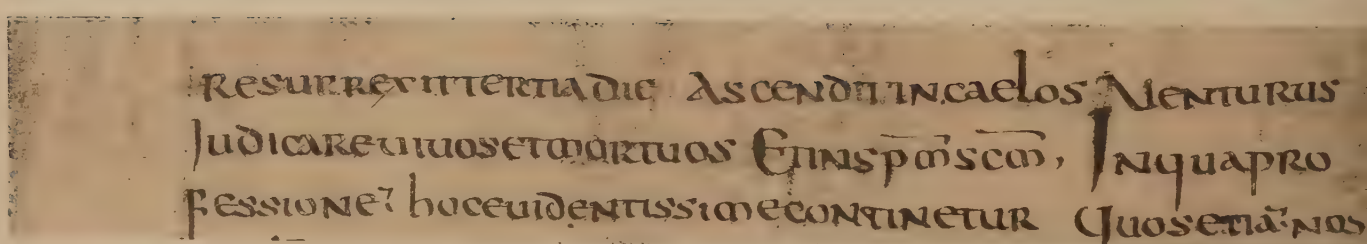
OMNIA PATRUM FILIUS SCRIPSERUNT CLERI QUI

Cod. Tolosanus 364, fol. 4, fol. 4 *v.*



fidē praedicare atque defendere Quam sca synodus
nicena firmauit dicens, Credimus in unū dm patrē
omnipotentē Visibilium et invisibilium factorē Et in unū
dnm nm ihm fm filium dei Natum de patre unigenitum
hoc est de substantia patris dm de deo lumen de lumine
dm uerum de deo uero Natum non factum unius substā
tiae cum patre Quod graeci dicunt omousion .
Per quem omnia facta sunt sive quae in caelo sive
quae in terra Qui propter nostram salutem dis
cendit incarnatus est et homo factus passus est

104



resurrexit tertia die ascendit in caelos Venturus
iudicare uiuos et mortuos Et in spm scm, In qua pro
fessione haec euidentissime continetur Quoseti[am] nos

Cod. Tolosanus 364, fol. 104, fol. 104 *v.*

fidem praedicare atque defendere Quam sancta synodus
Nichena firmauit dicens, Credimus in unum deum patrem
omnipotentem Visibilium et inuisibilium factorem. Et in unum
dominum nostrum Iesum filium dei Natum de patre unigenitum
Hoc est de substantia patris deum de deo lumen de lumine
Deum uerum de deo uero Natum non factum unius subs-
tantiae cum patre Quod Graeci dicunt omousion,
Per quem omnia facta sunt siue quae in caelo siue
quae in terra Qui propter nostram salutem dis-
cendit incarnatus est et homo factus passus est

resurrexit tertia die Ascendit in caelos Venturus
iudicare uuios et mortuos Et in spiritum sanctum. In qua pro-
fessione, hoc euidentissime continetur Quos etiam nos

Cod. Tolos. 364 (I 63) fol. 104 recto et verso.

# PLATE XV.

<mihi autem nimis honorati sunt amici tui>
<alleluia quoniam> <aruitus>

u
Os purificat, cor lętificat, terrem excelsam aedificat, hominem clarificat, sensus aperit. omne malum occidit. perfectionem instruit. excelsa demonstrat desiderium regni cęlestis dat, pacem inter corpus et animam facit. Ignem spiritalem in corde succendit, contra omnibus uitiis sollicitudo est Certamen bonum cotidie est, Radicem malorum omnium expellit, sicut lurica induit, sicut. galea defendit. spes salutis〈est〉. consolatio doloris, Refectio laboris. Notitia ueri luminis. fons sanctitatis. hominem iuuenem castigat, Regnum dei super terram dat. Tedium animę detrahit. Tuba miralis est. qui diligit canticum psalmorum assiduae non potest peccatum agere, qui habet laudem dei in corde suo. in postremo apud deum gaudebit. et animam suam in cęlo mirificabit in saecula saeculorum amen, FIDES SANCTI ATHANASII EPISCOPI ALEXANDRINI.

Quicumque uult saluus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem, Quam nisi quisque integram inuiolatamque ser〈ua〉 erit absque dubio in ęternum peribit Fides autem catholica haec est ut unum deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate ueneremur, Neque confundentes personas neque substantiam separantes,

Alia est enim persona patris. alia filii alia spiritus sancti. sed patris et filii et spiritus sancti una est diuinitas aequalis gloria coętern[a] maiestas, Qualis pater talis filius talis et[1] spiritus sanctus, Increatus pater increatus filius increatus et[1] spiritus sanctus, Inmensus pater inmensus filius inmensus et[1] spiritus sanctus aeternus[2] pater

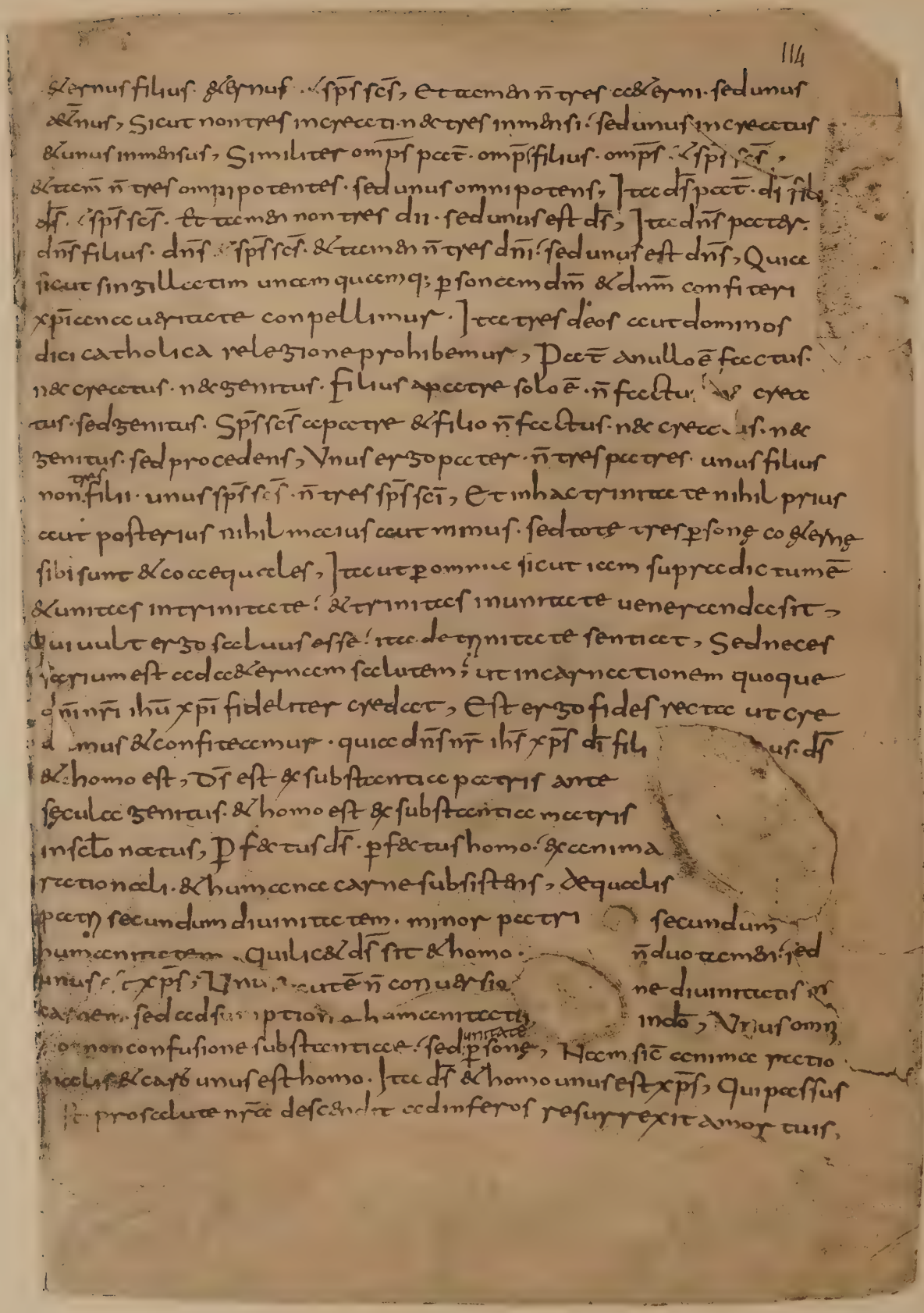
[1] *et* ras. [2] *a* ras.

Cod. Lugdunensis S. Fid. fol. 109 verso.

Os purificat, cor lꝫificat, t̄ryrem & celsum ccedificat, homi
nem cleenſificat · ſenſus apḡyt · omne malum occidit · pfecti
onem inſtruit · & celsa demonſtrat desiderium regni cęles
tis dcat, pcccm inter cor pus & cenim cem fecit, ]gnem ſpiꝰ
tale in cor de succendit, Contra omnib; uitiis ſollicitudo ē
C hꝫ tcm di bonum cotidie est, Recedicem malorum omnium
& pellit · ſicut lugca indurat, ſic ut. ꝫclcc defendit · Spes ſa
lutis ḡt conſolatio doloris, Refectio lecboꝛſ · Hoc tcc uꝛi lumi
nis · fons ſcr tcc tis · hominem iuuenem castigat, Regnum di
ſup tḡra cem dat · tedium animę dꝫ rechit · Tubce mirabilis
est · quid ligit canticum pſalmorum assiduce n̄ potest
p& catum agere, qui hcec b& lcc udem dī in corde suo in
postremo apud dm̄ ꝫcc udebit · s/cenim cem sucem in cęlo
mirificabit in sctis sctorum Amen ] fi[illegible]

S11 · epi ALEXANDRINI

Quicumq; uult saluus esse ante oīa opus est ut
[illegible]nec cat holicam fidem, Quā nisi quisq; integrā
[illegible]inuiolatam q; seruāuerit ꝯ dbsq; dubio in ęternū pḗyt
Fides cc uem catholica hcec est ut unum dm̄ in tri
nitate & trinitatem in unitate ueneremur, Neq; con
fundentes pſonas neq; ſubstantiam sepcrantes,
Alia cē enim pſona pris · alia filii · alia ſpūs ſcī · ſed pris
& filii & ſpūs ſcī una cē diuinitas cc equalis gloria co ęt
mę tas, Qualis pr tcr tis filius talis ſpūs ſcs, ]n
crcatus pr cē increatus filius increatus · ſpūs ſcs, ]im
mensus pr cē immensus filius immensus · ſpūs ſcs, ętcrnus pr cē



Cod. Lugdunensis, fol. 114

# PLATE XVI.

eternus filius. ęternus et[1] spiritus sanctus, et tamen non tres aeterni. sed unus
aeternus, Sicut non tres increati. nec tres inmensi. sed unus increatus
et unus inmensus, Similiter omnipotens pater. omnipotens filius. omnipotens et[1] spiritus sanctus,
et tamen non tres omnipotentes. sed unus omnipotens, Ita deus pater deus fili[us]
deus et[1] spiritus sanctus. Et tamen non tres dii. sed unus est deus, Ita dominus pater.
dominus filius. dominus et[1] spiritus sanctus. et tamen non tres domini. sed unus est dominus, Quia
sicut singillatim unam quamque personam deum et dominum confiteri
Christiana ueritate conpellimur. Ita tres deos aut dominos
dici catholica relegione prohibemur, Pater a nullo est factus.
nec creatus. nec genitus. Filius a patre solo est. non factus nec crea-
tus. sed genitus. Spiritus sanctus a patre et filio non factus. nec creatus. nec
genitus. sed procedens, Unus ergo pater. non tres patres. unus filius
non <tres> filii. unus spiritus sanctus. non tres spiritus sancti, Et in hac trinitate nihil prius
aut posterius nihil maius aut minus, sed totę tres personę coęternę
sibi sunt et coaequales, Ita ut per omnia sicut iam supradictum est
et unitas in trinitate, et trinitas in unitate ueneranda sit,
Qui uult ergo saluus esse. ita de trinitate sentiat, Sed neces-
sarium est ad aeternam salutem, ut incarnationem quoque
domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credat, Est ergo fides recta ut cre-
damus et confiteamur. quia dominus noster Iesus Christus dei filius. deus
et homo est, Deus est ex substantia patris ante
sęcula genitus. et homo est ex substantia matris
in saeculo natus, Perfectus deus. perfectus homo. ex anima
rationali. et humana carne subsistens, Aequalis
patri secundum diuinitatem. minor patri secundum
humanitatem. Qui licet deus sit et homo. non duo tamen. sed
unus est Christus, Unus autem non conuersione diuinitatis in
carnem. sed adsumptione humanitatis in deo, Unus omni-
no non confusione substantiae. sed <unitate> personę, Nam sicut anima ratio-
nalis et caro unus est homo. Ita deus et homo unus est Christus, Qui passus
est pro salute nostra descendit ad inferos resurrexit a mortuis,

[1] *et* ras.

Cod. Lugdunensis S. Fid. fol. 114 recto.

# PLATE XVII.

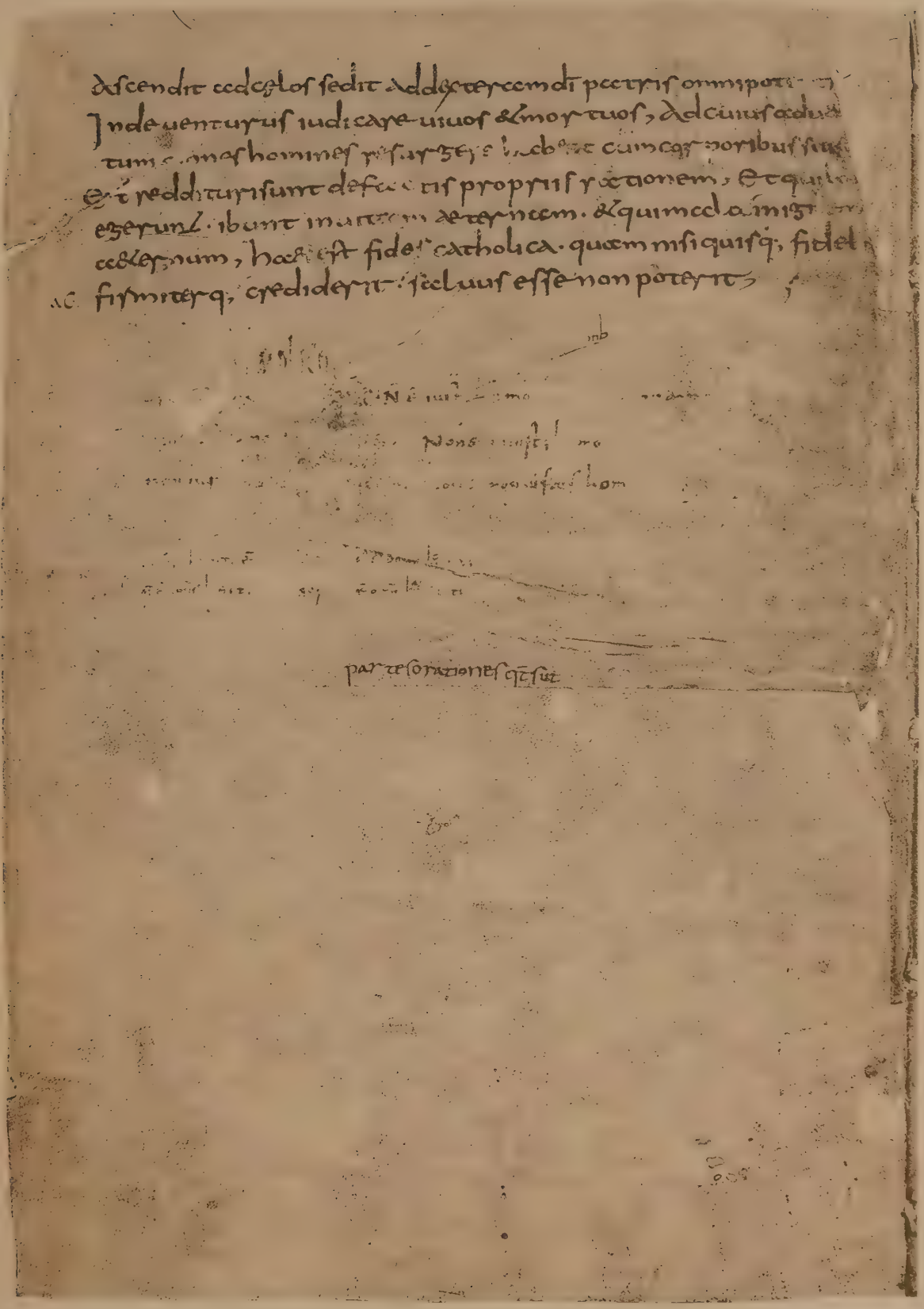
ascendit ad cęlos sedit ad dexteram dei patris omnipotenti[s]
Inde uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos, Ad cuius adue[n]-
tum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis
Et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem, Et qui bo[na]
egerunt. ibunt in uitam aeternam. et qui mala in ignem
aeternum, Haec est fides catholica quam nisi quisque fidel[iter]
〈ac〉 firmiterque crediderit. saluus esse non poterit.

<SIMPLICES(?)>

<ADF[IRMATIVA] [Est] iustus homo. NEG[ATIVA] Non est iustus homo.>
<ADF[IRMATIVA] Est iniustus homo. NEG[ATIVA] Non est iniustus homo.>
<ADF[IRMATIVA] Est non iustus homo. NEG[ATIVA] Non est non iustus homo.>
< >
< omnis homo iustus (?) est. NEG[ATIVA] non est omnis homo iustus>
< non est omnis homo non iustus ADF[IRMATIVA] est omnis homo non iustus>

<partes orationis quot sunt>

Cod. Lugdunensis S. Fid. fol. 114 verso.



Cod. Lugdunensis, fol. 114*v*.

Cod. Petriburgensis Q. 1. 15, fol. 63.

# PLATE XVIII.

Primum namque superbia genus est eorum qui per
transgressionis culpam contemptu habent diuina
praecepta. Secundum genus eorum est qui ex conser-
uatione mandatorum adtolluntur eleuatione uir-
tutum. Tertium genus eorum est qui per contumaciam
mentis subdi dedignantur seniorum imperiis quae qui-
dem uitia diuinitus adiuuante gratia h<i>is e contra-
rio curantur uirtutibus. Gulae enim concupiscentiam
repraemunt uigiliae. et conpunctio cordis.
Fornicationem extinguet contritio cordis et corpo-
ris afflictio et oratio adsidua uel laboris exercitium
metus quoque gehennae uel amor caelestis patriae.
Inuidiam superat amor fraternae dilectionis et
quoniam caeleste regnum non accipiunt nisi concordes.
Iram temperat patientia et ratio aequanimitatis.
Auari<t>iam subiu<>gat elimosina et spes aeternae
retribuitionis. Tristitiam fraterna conlcquia
et consolatio scripturarum. Arrogantiam calcat
metus ne uana gloria dilinitum animum a uir<tu>tibus
cunctis se excludat. Et per iectantiam perdat semet-
ipsum et pereat. Iam superbiam deprimat metus
diabulicae ruinae absque exemplo humilitatis Christi.

Explicit liber sancti Isidori episcopi.

Ora pro me sepissimi deum caeli carissimi uti mea
innumera Christus remittat cremina. amen.

deo gratias.

Fides sancti Athanassi episcopi Alexandriae

Quicumque ult saluus esse ante om-
nia opus est ut teneat catholicam
fidem quam nisi quisque integram inuio-
labilemque seruauerit absque du[bi]o peribit in ae-
ternum. Fides autem catholica Haec est ut unum deum
in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate uenera-
mur. Neque confundantes personas neque substan-
tia separantes. Alia est enim persona patris
alia filii alia spiritus sancti. Sed patris et filii et spiritus sancti
una est diuinitas aequalis gloria

Col. i. l. 16. *Auaritiam*] *t* supra lin.
*subiugat*] una littera rasa.

Coaeterna maiestas qualis pater talis filius
talis et spiritus sanctus increatus pater increatus filius
increatus spiritus sanctus inmensus pater inmensus
filius inmensus spiritus sanctus aeternus pater aeter-
nus filius aeternus spiritus sanctus. Et tamen non tres
aeterni sed unus aeternus sic non tres increati
non tres inmensi sed unus increatus Et unus inmensus

Similiter omnipotens pater omnipotens
filius omnipotens spiritus sanctus et tamen non tres
omnipotens sed unus omnipotens. Ita deus pater
deus filius deus spiritus sanctus et tamen non tres dii sed unus deus est.
Ita et dominus pater dominus filius dominus spiritus sanctus et tamen
non tres domini sed unus dominus est Quia sicut sin-
gillatim unum quamqu<e> personam et dominum et d<eu>m
confiteri Christiana ueritate conpellimur. Ita tres
deos aut dominos dicere catholica relegione
prohibemur. Pater a nullo factus nec creatus
nec genitus filius a patre solo est nec factus
nec creatus sed genitus. Spiritus sanctus a patre
et filio nec factus nec creatus nec genitus
sed procedens. Unus ergo pater non tres patres
unus filius non tres filii unus spiritus sanctus non tres
spiritus sancti. In hac trinitate nihil prius
aut posterius nihil maius aut minus
sed totae tres personae. Coaeternae sibi sunt
et coaequales ita ut per omnia sicut iam supra
dictum est et trinitas in unitate. Et unitas
in trinitate ueneranda sit.
Qui uult ergo saluus esse ita de trinitate
sentiat sed necessarium est ad aeternam
salutem ut incarnationem quoque domini nostri Iesu
Christi fideiter credat. est ergo fides recta
ut credamus. et confiteamur quia dominus noster
Iesus Christus dei filius et deus pariter et homo est.
Deus est ex substantia patris ante saecula
genitus et homo est ex substantia matris
in saeculo genitus. Perfectus homo ex anima
rationabili et humana carne subsistens

Col. ii. l. 14. *qui...dominum* scriptor, *que...deum* corr.

Cod. Petriburg. Q.I. 15. fol. 63 recto.

# PLATE XIX.

Aequalis patri perfectus deus secundum diuinitatem. Qui licet deus sit et homo non tamen duo sed unus est deus. unus autem non conuersatione diuinitatis in carne sed adsumptione humanitatis in deo. Unus omnino non confusione substantiae sed unitate personae.
Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo ita deus et homo unus Christus qui passus est pro salute nostra. discendit ad infernus resurrexit a mortuis ascendit ad caelos sedit ad dexteram patris inde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos ad cuius aduentum Habent resurgere omnes homines cum corporibus suis et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem et qui bona egerunt ibunt in uitam aeternam qui mala in ignem aeternam. Haec est fides catholica quam nisi quis fideliter firmiterque crediderit saluus esse non poterit CHRISTI

Edita uisurum externae nunc oppida terrae .
Retibus. ut nunquam gradiens uestigia frater .
Infandis hostis uallant quae castra perosi .
Atra graues pereant ne sic caelestia uota. .
Candida sed rutilent cordis praesagia donec .
Arbiter arcitenens superarit proelia dira .
Et miles supera gaudebit comptus in urbe.
Limpida famosum spectet per saecla tribunal
Iohannis caeli rimans mysteria caeli.

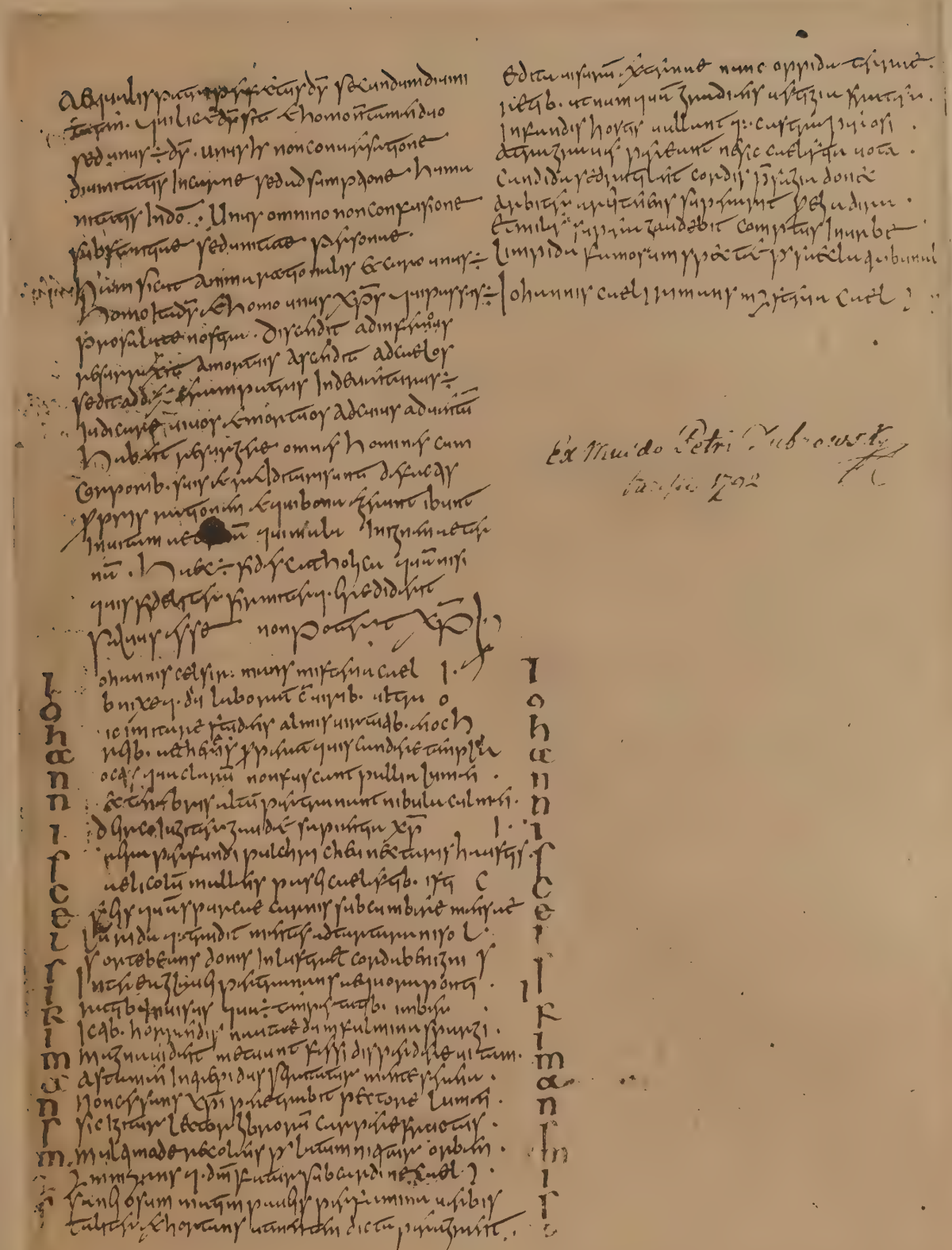
<Ex Musaeo Petri Dubrowsky>

<Parisiis 1792>

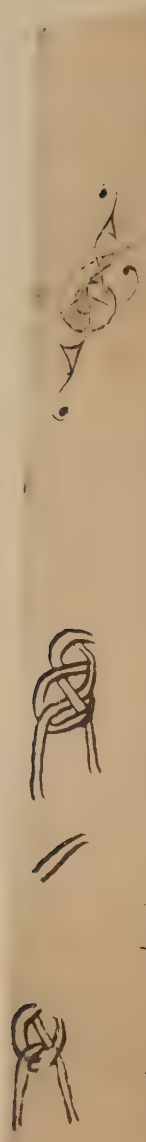
·E

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I | ohannis celsi rimans misteria cael I | I |
| O | bnixeque d<i>u laborat cum uiribus ultr O | O |
| H | ic imitare studens almis uirtutibus Enoc H | H |
| A | rcibus aether<e>is properat qui scandere templa | A |
| N | octis qua clarum non fuscant pallia lumen. | N |
| N | ec tenebris altum pertranant nibula culmen. | N |
| I | dcirco iugiter gaudet sapientia Christ I. | I |
| S | acra perfundi pulchri cheu nectaris haustis. | S |
| C | aelicolum mallens pasci caelestibus isti C | C |
| E | scis quam spurcae carnis subcumbere mensae | E |
| L | lurida quae trudit mentes ad tartara ni soL. | L |
| S | sorte beans donis inlustret corda benigniS | S |
| I | interea glauci pertranans aequora ponti. | I |
| R | ratibus inuisus qua est tempestatibus imber, | R |
| I | ictibus horrendis nautae dum fulmina spargi. | I |
| M | magna uident metuunt fessi disperdere uitam. | M |
| A | astamen intrepidus scrutatur mente serena. | A |
| N | non cessans Christi penetrabit pectore lumen. | N |
| S | sic igitur lector librorum carpere fructus. | S |
| M | multimode recolens per latum nititur orbem. | M |
| Y | ymnizans que deum fatur sub cardine cael I. | I |
| S | sancio summatim paucis per famina uerbis | S |
| T | taliter exhortans ut mentem dicta peragrent. | T |

Cod. Petriburg Q. I. 15 fol. 63 verso.



Cod. Petriburgensis Q. 1. 15, fol. 63 *v*.



Cod. Monacensis lat. 6298 (Fris. 98), fol. 1 *v*.

# PLATE XX.

Quicumque uult saluus
esse ante omnia opus est
ut teneat catholicam fidem
quam nisi quisque integram
inuiolatamque seruauerit absque
dubio peribit in aeternum fides
autem catholica haec est ut unum
deum in trinitate et trinitate< > in
unitate ueneremur neque con-
fundentes personas neque sub-
stantiam separantes. ali<a>enim est
persona patris alia filii alia spiritus
sancti sed patris et filii et spiritus sancti una
est diuinitas equalis gloria
coaeterna maiestas qualis pa-
ter talis filius talis et spiritus sanctus
increatus pater increatus fili-
us increatus et spiritus sanctus inmensus
pater inmensus filius inmen-
sus spiritus sanctus eternus pater ae-
ternus filius eternus spiritus sanctus.
Et tamen non tres aeterni sed unus
aeternus sicut non tres increa-
ti nec tres inmensi sed unus in-
creatus et unus inmensus.
Similiter omnipotens pater
omnipotens filius omnipotens spiritus
sanctus Et tamen non tres omnipotens
sed unus omnipotens ita deus pater.
deus filius deus spiritus sanctus et tamen non tres
dii sed unus <est> deus ita dominus pater
dominus filius dominus et spiritus sanctus et tamen
non tres domini sed unus est dominus
quia sicut singillatim unam quam-
que personam ad deum et dominum con-
fiteri Christiani ueritate conpelli-
mur ita tres deos aut tres dominos
dicere catholica relegione pro-
hibemur Pater a nullo est
factus nec creatus nec genitus
filius <a patre solo est non factus nec
creatus. sed genitus spiritus sanctus a pa-
tre et filio non factus nec>
creatus nec genitus sed procedens
unus est ergo pater non tres patres
unus filius non tres filii unus spiritus
sanctus non tres spiritus sancti <et> in hac enim tri-
nitate nihil prius aut posterius
nihil est maius aut minus sed to-
tae tres personae coaeternae
sibi sunt. Et coaequales ita ut per
omnia sicut iam supra dictum est

Col. i. lin. 8. *m* eras. ?

Col. ii. lin. 15–17 in rasur.
lin. 21 *et* supra lin.

Cod. Monac. lat. 6298 fol. 1 verso.

# PLATE XXI.

<c casus est periculo>

<et unitas in trinitate uene-
randi sit. Qui uult ergo saluus
esse. > ita de trinitate
sentiat sed necessarium est ad
aeternam salutem ut incar-
nationem quoque domini nostri Iesu Christi
fideliter credat est ergo fides
recta ut credamus ut confite-
amur quia dominus noster Iesus Christus dei fi-
lius et deus pa< >riter et homo est
deus ex substantia patris <hoc> in sae-
culo natus perfectus perf<ectus> ho-
mo ex anima rationabili et hu-
mana carne subsistens aequa-
lis patri secundum diuinitatem
minor patri secundum huma-
nitatem quia licet deus sit et homo
non tatem duo sed unus est <Christus>
unus autem conuer<si>one diui-
nitat<i>s in carne sed adsumpti-
one humanitatis in deo unus om-
nino <in> confusione substan-
tiae sed unitate personae nam
sicut anima rationabilis et ca-
ro unus est homo ita deus et homo
unus est Christus qui passus est pro
salutae nostra discendit ad infe-
ros et resurrexit a mortuis ascendit
ad inferos et resurrexit in caelos
sedit ad dexteram dei patris omni-
potentis inde uenturus iudicare
uiuos et mortuos ad cuius aduentum
habent resurgere omnes homines
cum corporibus suis et reddituri
sunt de factis propriis rationem et
qui bona egerunt ibunt in uitam ae-
ternam nam qui mala in ignem ae-
ternam haec est fides catholica
quam nisi quis fideliter firmiter-
que crediderit saluus esse non poterit.

IN nomine Iesu Christi domini nostri conti-
nentur hoc in codice.

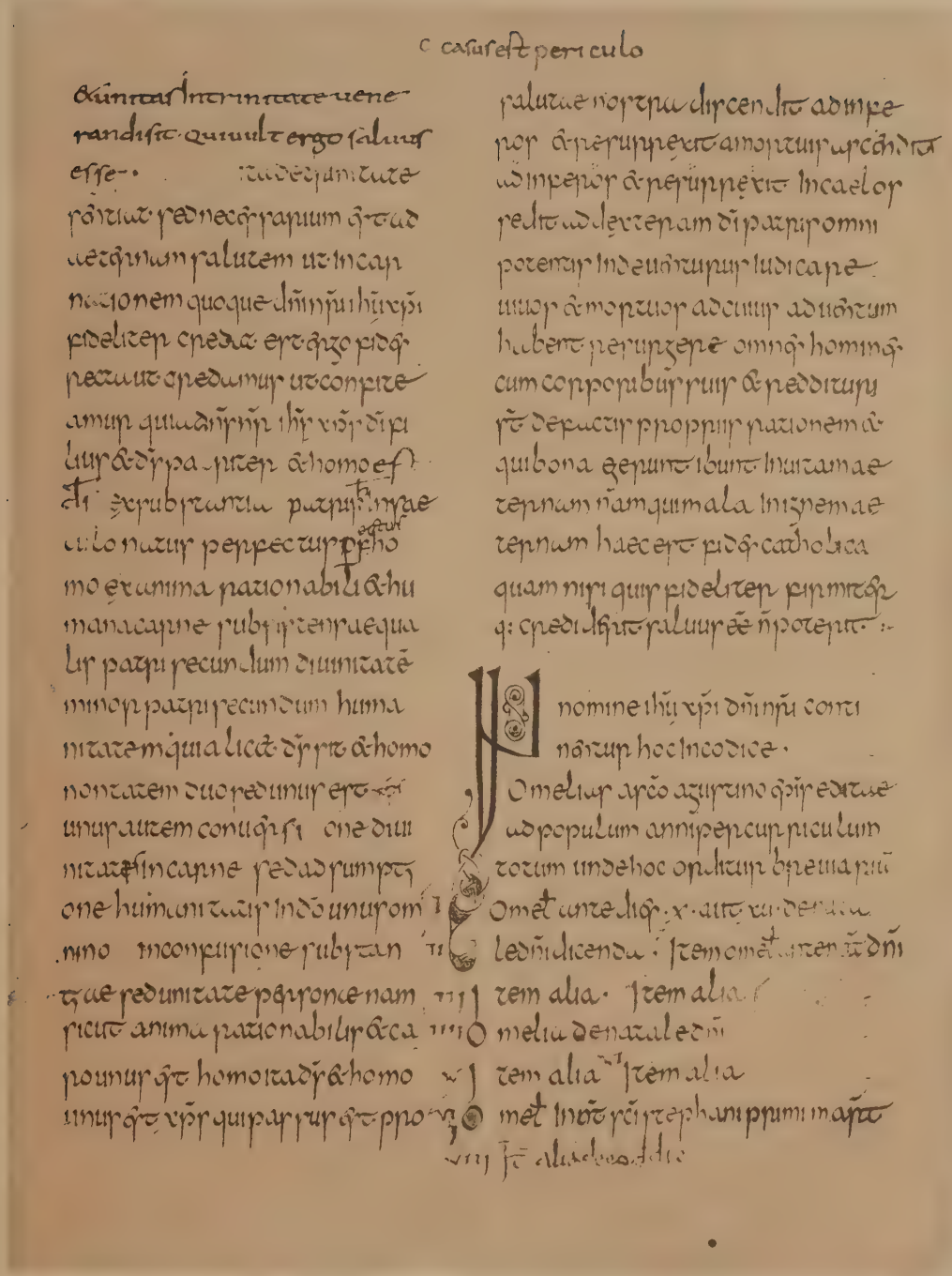
Omelias a sancto Agustino episcopo editae
ad populum anni per curriculum
totum unde hoc orditur breuiarium

i. Omelia ante dies x. aut xv. de nata-
ii. le domini dicenda. Item Omelia ante natale domini
iii. Item alia. Item alia
iiii. Omelia de natale domini
v. Item alia. <vi.> Item alia
vii. Omelia in natale sancti Stephani primi martiris
viii. Item alia de eodem die.

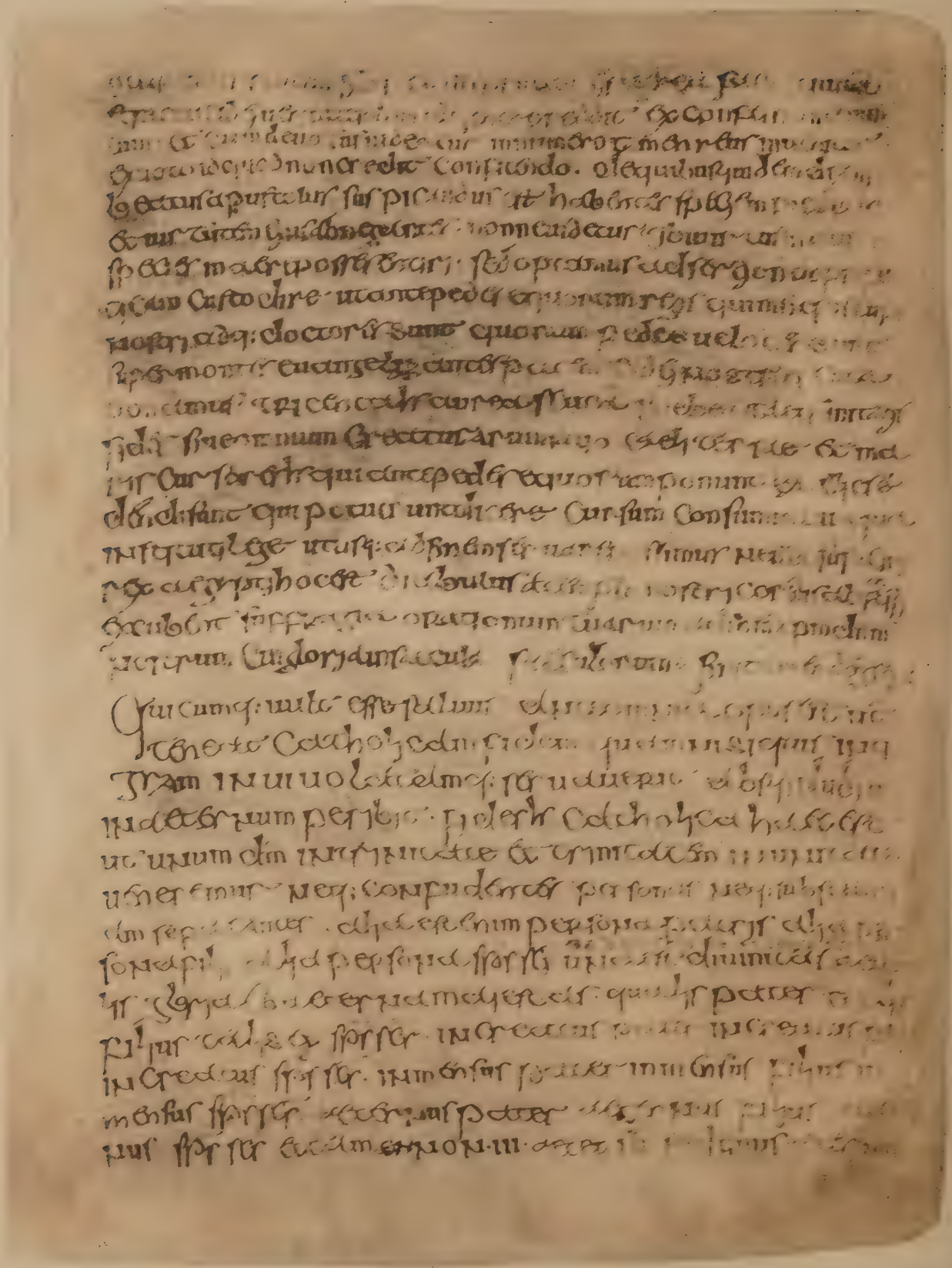
Col. i. ll. 1–3. in ras.
,, l. 10. *t* ras.
,, l. 11. *h* supra lin.
,, l. 12. *fectus* supra lin.
,, l. 18. *Christus* in ras.
,, l. 19. *sati* ras.

Col. i. l. 19. *si* in ras.
,, l. 20. *e* scriptor, *i* corr.
,, l. 22. *non* ras.
,, l. 22. *non* scriptor.
Col. ii. l. 2, 3. expunct.

Cod. Monac. lat. 6298 fol. 2 recto.



Cod. Monacensis lat. 6298 (Fris. 98), fol. 2



Cod. Ambrosianus O. 212. sup., fol. 14

# PLATE XXII.

accipientes scutum fidei Et ille pro aureis aerea facit qui sub-
stracta fidei ueritate solum degenere reddit ex confessione tinni-
tum. Et cum deuotus uideatur in numero tamen reus inuenitur
ex uoto id quod non credit confitendo. de quibus quidem dixisse
beatus apustolus suspicandus est habentes speciem pietatis
et uirtutem eius abnegantes. nonne uidetur tibi uirtus in auro et
species in aere posse sentiri. sed optamus adsertionem profe-
ticam custodire. ut ante pedes equorum regis qui nisi episcupi
nostri adque doctores sunt quorum pedes ueloces sunt
super montes euangelizantes pacem fidei nostrae scuta
ponamus. tricenta autem aurea scuta siue beata trinitatis
fides siue omnium creaturarum satio caeli terrae et ma-
ris cursores autem qui ante pedes equorum ponunt ea illi cre-
dendi sunt qui potuerunt dicere Cursum consummaui qua
instituti lege ut usque ad finem seruare possimus ne illa Susacim
rex Aegypti hoc est diabulus a templo nostri cordis abstraxisset (?)
excubent suffragia orationum tuarum ad Iesum Christum dominum
nostrum cui gloria in saecula saeculorum est finit amen deo gratia

Qui cumque uult esse saluus ante omnia opus est ut
teneat catholicam fidem quam nisi quis inti-
gram inuiolatamque seruauerit absque dubio
in aeternum peribit. fides autem catholica haec est
ut unum deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate
ueneremur neque confudentes personas neque substanti-
am separantes. alia est enim persona patris alia per-
sona filii alia persona spiritus sancti <sed patris et fili et spiritus sancti> una
est diuinitas aequa-
lis gloria coaeterna maiestas. qualis pater talis
filius talis et spiritus sanctus. increatus pater increatus filius
increatus spiritus sanctus. inmensus pater inmensus filius in-
mensus spiritus sanctus. aeternus pater aeternus filius aeter-
nus spiritus sanctus et tamen non iii. aeterni. sed unus aeternus

l. 26. *sed—sancti* supra lin.

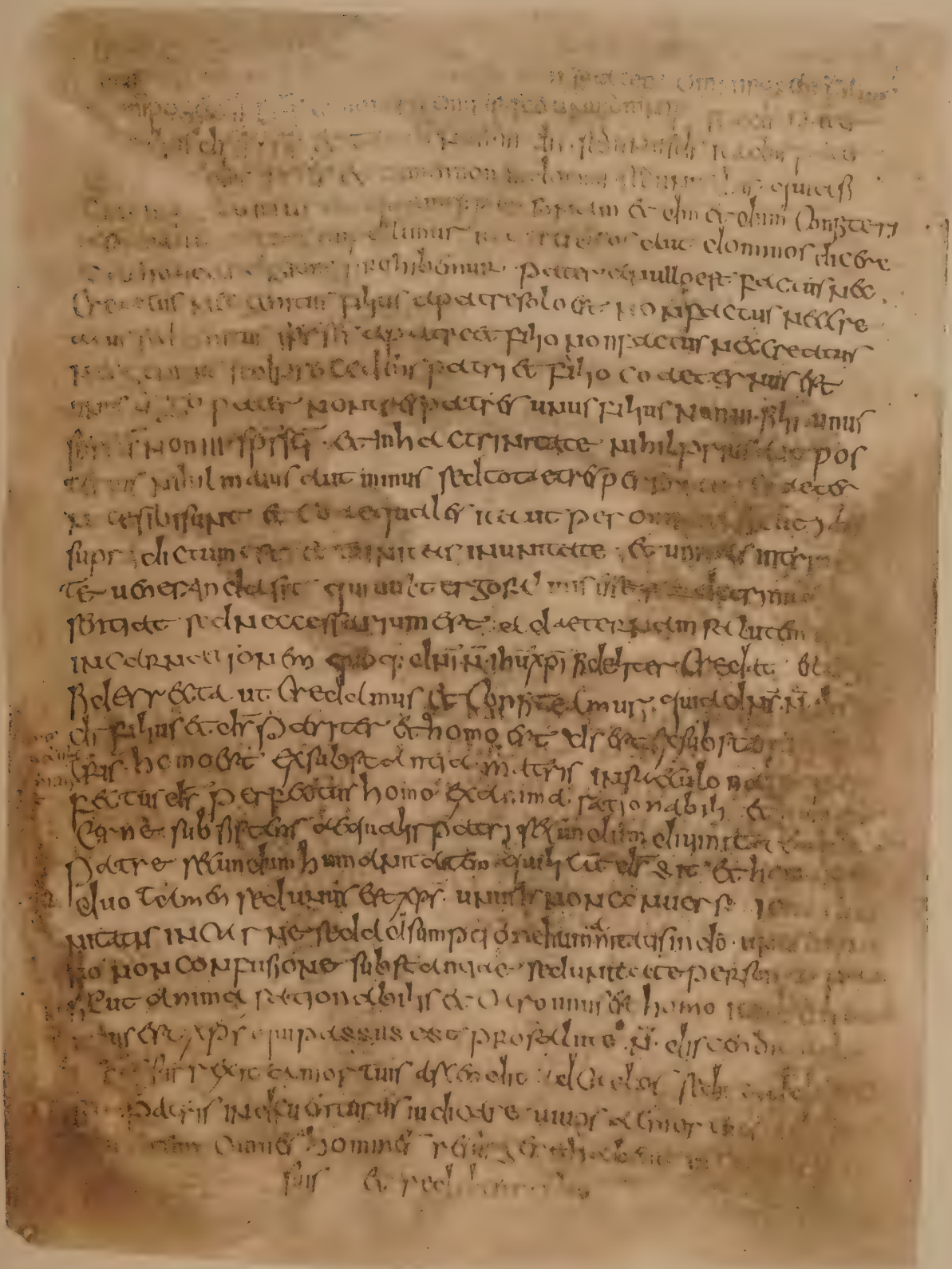
Cod. Ambrosianus O. 212 sup. fol. 14 recto.

# PLATE XXIII.

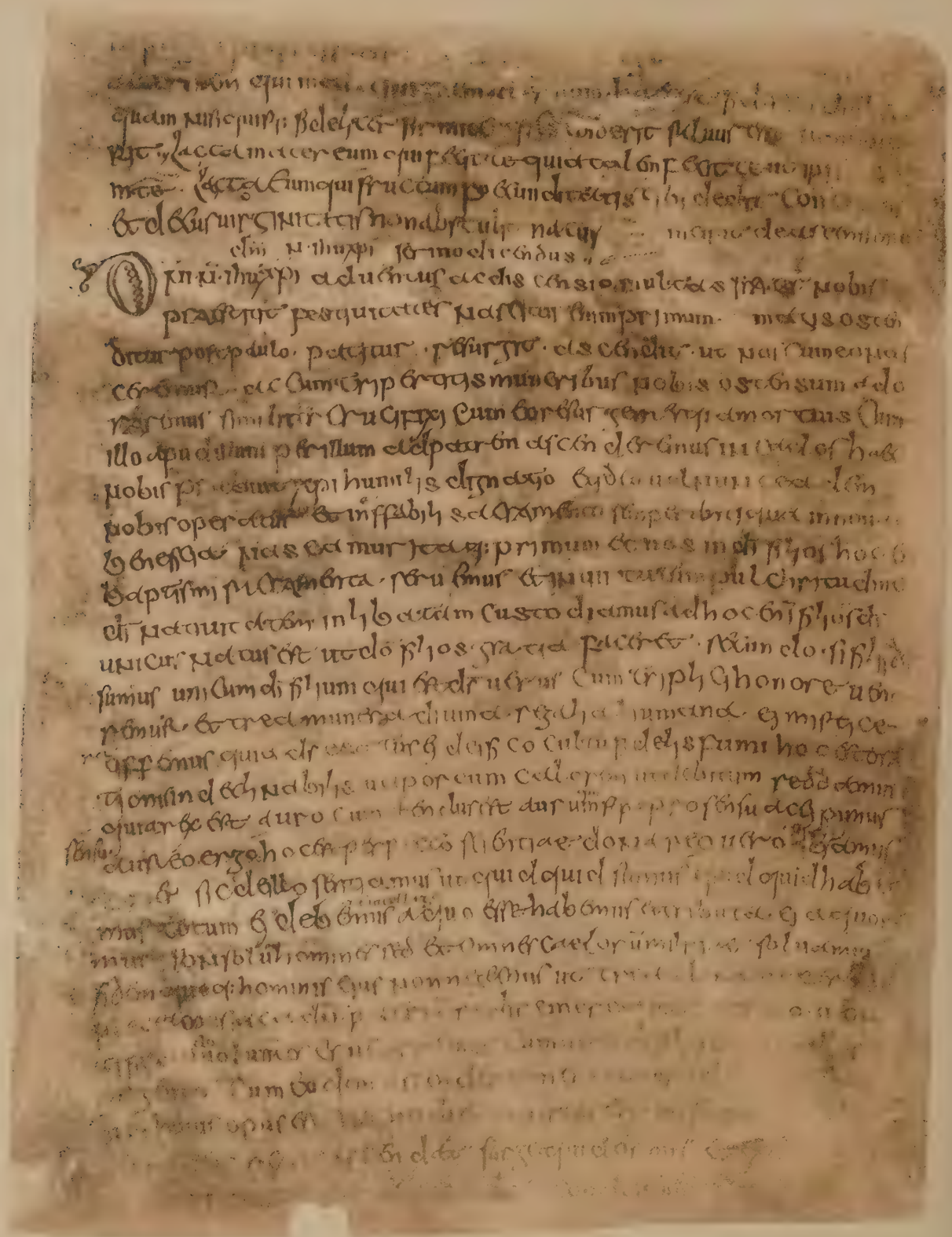
[sicut non tres increati nec tres inmensi sed un]us [inmensus] et
[unus incre]atus [similiter] omnipotens pater omnipotens filius
omnipotens spiritus sanctus et non tres omnipotentes sed unus omnipotens. ita deus pater
deus filius deus spiritus sanctus et tamen non iii. dii. sed unus deus. ita dominus pater
dominus filius dominus spiritus sanctus et tamen non iii. domini. sed unus dominus. quia si
cut singillatim unamquamque personam et deum et dominum confiteri
Christiana ueritate conpellimur ita tres deos aut dominos dicere
catholica religione prohibemur. pater a nullo est factus nec
creatus nec genitus filius a patre solo est non factus nec cre-
atus sed genitus spiritus sanctus a patre et filio non factus nec creatus
nec genitus sed procedens patri et filio coaeternus est
unus ergo pater non tres patres unus filius non iii. filii unus
spiritus sanctus non iii. spiritus sancti. et in hac trinitate nihil prius aut pos-
terius nihil maius aut minus sed totae tres personae coaeter-
nae sibi sunt et coaequales ita ut per omnia sicut iam
supradictum est et trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinita-
te ueneranda sit qui uult ergo saluus esse ita de trinitate
sentiat sed neccessarium est ad aeternam salutem ut
incarnationem quoque domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credat est ergo
fides recta ut credamus et confiteamur quia dominus noster Iesus Christus
dei filius et deus pariter et homo est deus est ex substantia pa-
tris <ante saecula genitus>. homo est ex substantia matris in saeculo natus per-
fectus deus perfectus homo ex anima rationabili et humana
carne subsistens aequalis patri secundum diuinitatem minor
patre secundum humanitatem qui licet deus sit et homo non
duo tamen sed unus est Christus. unus autem non conuers< >ione diui-
nitatis in carne sed adsumptione hum<a>nitatis in deo. unus omni-
no non confusione substantiae sed unitate personae nam
sicut anima rationabilis et caro unus est homo ita deus et homo
unus est Christus qui passus est pro salute nostra discendit ad in-
[feros] surrexit a mortuis ascendit ad caelos sedit ad dexte-
[ram] patris inde uenturus iudicare uiuos ac mortuos ad cuius
aduentum omnes homines resurgere habent in corporibus
suis et reddituri sunt.

l. 22. *ante s.g.* in marg.
l. 26. duae litterae ras.

Cod. Ambrosianus. O. 212 sup. fol. 14 verso.



Cod. Ambrosianus O. 212. sup., fol. 14*v*.



Cod. Ambrosianus O. 212. sup., fol. 15

de factis propriis rationem et qui bona egerunt [ibunt in uitam]
aeternam qui mala in ignem aeternum. haec est fides ca[tholica]
quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit saluus esse non [pote-]
rit. Lacta mater eum qui fecit te quia talem fecit te ut ip[ ]
in te. Lacta eum qui fructum foecunditatis tibi dedit conceptus
et decus uirginitatis non abstulit natus. Incipit de ascensione
domini nostri Iesu Christi sermo dicendus.

Domini nostri Iesu Christi aduentus ac discensio multas fratres carissimi nobis
praestitit festiuitates nascitur enim primum. magis osten-
ditur post paulo. patitur. resurgit. ascendit. ut nos cum eo nas-
ceremur. ac cum tripertitis muneribus nobis ostensum ado-
raremus similiter crucifixi cum eo resurgentesque a mortuis cum
illo apud illum per illum ad patrem ascenderemus in caelos haec
nobis praestat Christi humilis dignatio et ideo uel nunc eadem
nobis operatur et in<e>ffabili sacramento semper antiqua innouat
beneficia nascamur itaque primum et nos in dei filios hoc est
baptismi sacramenta seruemus et in uirtutum pulchritudine
dei natiuitatem inlibatam custodiamus ad hoc enim filius dei
unicus natus est ut deo filios gratia faceret. secundo. si filii dei
sumus unicum dei filium qui est deus uerus cum triplici honore uene-
remur et trea munera diuina regalia humana ei mistice
offe<ra>mus quia deus est tus ei deifico cultu fidelis fumi hoc est ora-
tionis indeclinabilis uaporeum calorem ut debitum reddamus
qui
quia rex est auro cumul<a>ndus est aurum sepe pro sensu accipimus
<sensu> aureo ergo hoc est perfecto scientiae dona regi uero<off>eramus
[ ]er sic de illo sentiamus ut quidquid sumus quidquid habe-
mus totum ei debemus <ipse intellege ?> a quo esse habemus et tributa ei a quo [
mur non solum homines sed et omnes caelorum militiae soluamus
fidem quoque hominis eius non negemus ut trea dona offerendo
placeamus ac ad nostram patriam redire mereamur tertio mor-
tifican<do> uolun<ta>tes crucifigamur. Cum uero dissurgant cum illo e-
ius gentes Cum eodem ascendere mereamur ad caelos hoc
diei huius opus est haec hodierni uirtus est ut siquis [ ] de
morte surrexit ascendat surge qui dormis [et ex]surg[e]
a mortuis dicit apustolus et cont[inges] Christum

l. 15. *e* super lin.
l. 22. *ra* in marg.
l. 24. *e* ut videtur scriptor, *a* corr. ? *sepe* scriptor, corr. fortasse *quippe*.
l. 25. *sensu* in marg. *off.* super lin. in ras.
l. 27. *ipse intellige* (?) super lin.
l. 31. *do, ta* super lin.

Cod. Ambrosianus O. 212 sup. fol. 15 recto.

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